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THE

POLYANTHEA.

VOL. II.

S. Gosnell, Printer, Little Queen Street, Holborn.

THE

POLYANTHEA:

OR,

A COLLECTION

OF

INTERESTING FRAGMENTS,

IN

Prose and Verse:

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, DIALOGUES, LETTERS,

CHARACTERS, &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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lifetime, of his library to the senate of Bologna, which, it seems, had the taste to appreciate the gift; for they ordered apartments to be erected in the public palace, in which this intellectual treasure was deposited with great ceremony. The first room contains a number of natural subjects, such as minerals, metals, &c. extremely scarce and curious in their kind; the second and third, books in every branch of natural history, many of which are extremely rare, with a well-arranged catalogue of the whole: the fourth is set apart for plants, fishes, quadrupeds, and birds; the fifth is devoted to engravings on copper, and wooden cuts, originally intended for such works as he designed to print. His taste and penetration in his favourite study could be only equalled by his industry; yet, lamentable to relate! with virtues that ought to have ensured the friendship of the good, and learning that might inflame the pride of patronage, he died in great distress in his old days, in an hospital in his native city, on the 10th of May 1605. Cardinal Montalto, the Duke of Urbino, Franciscus Morea, and Pope Clement VIII. caused several of his writings to be printed. The following is a list of those that have appeared from time to time in print:

"Ornithologiæ,

" Ornithologiæ, hoc est de Avibus Historia, lib. xii. tom. i. Bononiæ, 1599. Typ. Fran. de Franciscis, et Clem. VII. P. M. dicatus. Francofurti, 1600, impensis H. Nicolai Bassei, unà cum figuris æneis incisis. Ornithologiæ, lib. vi. tom. ii. Bon. 1600. Typ. Jo. Bapt. Bellagamba. Ornithologiæ, lib. ii. tom. iii. 1603. Typ. ejusd. De Animalibus exanguibus Historia, in varios Libros digesta, et primo de Insectis, apodibus, et pedatis, quæ posteriora in alata, et Alis carentia dividuntur, lib. vii. 1602. Typ. ejusd. De Quadrupedibus solipedibus, lib. i. tom. i. Bon. 1616. Typ. Vict. Benatii. Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum Historia, lib. i. tom. ii. Bon. 1621. Typ. Sebast. Bonhomii. De Quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis, lib. iii. et de Quadrupedibus digitatis oviparis, lib. ii. tom. iii. Bon. 1645. Typ. Nicolai Tebaldini. De Piscibus, lib. v. et de Cetis, lib. i. Bon. 1613. Typ. J. B. Bellagamba. De Serpentibus, et Draconibus Historiæ, lib. ii. Bon. 1640. Typ. Ferronii. De Monstris Historia, cum Paralipomenis Historiæ omnium Animalium. Bon. 1642. Typ. N. Tebaldini. De Crustaceis, sive Malacostracis, ut Astacis, seu Gammaris, de Cancrorum Differentiis, de Locustis, et Squillis, de Malachiis, seu Molibus, ut Polypo, Sepia, Sepiola, &c. Bon. 1642. Typ. Feronii. De Arboribus, lib. vi. Primus est de Arboribus

in Genere; ii. de Fructibus; iii. de Subfructibus; iv. de Herbis; v. de Frugibus; nempe de Leguminibus, et Triticeis; vi. de Herbis imperfectis. 1668. Typ. ejusd. Museum Metalicum in lib. iv. distributum.

The following are the MSS. written with his own hand, carefully preserved in the Aldrovandine library already named:

"Dictionarium omnium Rerum naturalium, quarum Mentio fit in omnibus Hippocratis Coi Libris, nempe Plantarum, Animalium, tam exanguium, quam sanguineorum, et Fossilium, quæ in Opere sparsæ illius Authoris Sententiæ Ordine alphabetico rediguntur, et Scholiis quibusdam illustrantur. Sylva Allegoriarum mysticos totius Sacræ Script. Sensus complectens, presertim Fossilium, Plantarum, ac Animalium. Antidotarium omnium Medicamentorum, quæ sunt in Usu quotidiano. Elucidarium Theologicum de Fossilibus, Plantis, Animalibus tam exanguibus, quam sanguineis, quorum Mentio fit in Sacris Bibliis. Index omnium Rerum, quæ in suo Museo collecta spectantur. Lectiones in Epitomen redactæ in lib. v. Dioscoridis Anazarbei, publicè quadraginta Annis continuis in Archigymnasio Bonon. prelectæ. Epistolæ variæ, partim Authoris, et partim aliorum, de variis Rebus naturalibus. De Lucentibus noctu, Tractatus,

Tractatus. Pandechii Epistemonici multa Volumina, in omni Genere Scientiarum utilima, cum sint tanquam Loci communis omnium Rerum ad Historias texendas, ex assiduis nostris Studiis observata, et in Ordinem alphabeticum redacta. Schedarum Numerus infinitus assiduis Studiis collectus, et in Ordinem alphabeticum redactus, in quibus quam plurima variorum Authorum Loca advertuntur, et dilucidantur. Scholia varia in Aristotelem, Theophrastum, Vitruvium, et Plinium. Petrus Bellonius Cenomanus de Historia Avium, ex Gallico Latinus factus. Commentaria in Dioscoridis Librum primum. Index Plantarum omnium, quas in sexdecim Voluminibus, diversis Temporibus, exsicatas agglutinavit. De Acetariis, quæ veniunt in Usum Ciborum. De Plantis odoratis, et virosi Odoris Historia. Theophrasti Sententiæ hinc inde sparsæ, in Ordinem alphabeticum redactæ, et Annotationibus illustratæ. De Abrotoni Veriloquio, Equivocatione, et Synonimis, et de Onobrichi, seu Ruta capraria, quæ maximis Viribus pollet adversus Pestem. De Vinorum Varietate, et Natura, Annotationes, et Scholia in decimumquartum Librum Plinii. De Fermento; de Monocerote, sive Unicornu, Liber: de Sturione; Syntaxis, sive Methodus universalis, et particularis omnium Rerum naturalium, tam animantium, quàm inanimantium,

ex innumeris Authoribus collecta, ac in multos Libros digesta, Opus ad scribendum in omni Scientiarum Genere utilissimum. De Differentiis, et Figuris Partium precipuarum Plantarum, nempe Foliorum, Florum, cum eorundem Coloribus, Seminum, Fructuum, atque Radicum, Opus valde utile Plantarum studiosis. Synonima Fossilium, Plantarum et Animalium, in variis Linguis. Index Plantarum, et Animalium depictorum, item Fossilium, quæ habent Figuram determinatam, vel Casu, vel Naturæ Luxu; de Scientiarum, et Artium Origine; Bibliothecarum selectarum Thesaurus, penes Titulos in duodecim Tomos distinctus, Ordine alphabetico, Opus utilissimum, varia Opera componere cupientibus; de Cruce, ejusque Miraculis, et in quibus Rebus naturalibus, ut Fossilibus, Plantis, et earum Partibus, ut Floribus, Foliis, Fructibus, Radicibus, pariter, et Animalibus, naturaliter insculpta reperiatur, lib. ii. Moscologia, sive de Mosco Historia; Stephanologia, seu de Coronis, Historiæ, lib. ii. ubi non tantum de earum Diversitate, et Materia agitur, verum etiam de earundem Usu, Utilitate, Origine, Opus jucundum, et utilissimum omnibus Naturæ Scrutatoribus, in quo multa Poetarum Loca, tam Græcorum, quam Latinorum, clarè enucleantur; de Exanthematibus, seu Petechiis Libellus; Annotationes in Opera Aristotelis, et

in

in primum posteriorum; in Prædicabilia Porphyrii, Commentarius; Prælectiones in eadem Prædicabilia; Paraphrasis in Lib. posteriorum Aristotelis; Prælectiones publicè habitæ in primum Lib. Physicorum; Prælectiones in Prædicamenta Aristotelis, in Librum de Sensu, et Sensato, in primum Lib. Meteorarum, in decem Lib. Ethicorum, et primum Lib. de Cœlo, in Logicam, Paraphrasis; Methodi variæ de Fossilibus, Plantis, et Animalibus; Volumen variarum Orationum super promotis in Collegio ad Philos. et Medic. Miscellanea varia, de Causa finali Plantarum, de Hortorum Origine, atque Diversitate et Utilitate; de Mensarum Differentiis, et Triclinio, Libellus: de Sycomoro. Quod Spongiæ sint Planta imperfecta, non autem Animalia Zoophyta; de Papyro, et Linguarum, et Academiarum Diversitate, lib. ii. An Natura producat Plantas inutiles. De Farre, de Nicotiana, de Sandice, de Lolio, et ejus Remediis, de Ursi Natura et Facultate, de Lamia cetacea, de Sepa serpente, de Lucerta Chalcidica, de Capriasino. Anemologia, sive Historia de Ventis, de Aere corrigendo Tempore Pestis; de Cancris; Pectinum volantium, Historia; de Coloribus. Tractatus, cum suis propriis Picturis, a Plantarum Floribus desumptis ad vivum; de novem Gemmis Libellus; de Sulphuris locis, ubi nascitur,

citur, in variis Terrarum Partibus, Historia. De Numismatibus, Historia. De Talentorum Differentiis, Libellus. Animadversiones supra Picturas monstrificas, et prodigiosas. De Eculeo Antiquorum, quod erat Tormenti Genus, quo torquebantur Sancti. De Magnete albo. Quæstione logicæ, et physicæ variæ. De Locis Topicis, publicè, et methodicè declaratis. Proconnesi Lapidis, Historia. De Lapide Bezaar. De Creusa. De Tabulis ceratis. De Taurobolio, et Oriobolio. Plauti bina Loca in Captivis, et Aululariæ emendata. De Vertigine, Libellus. Observationes in Theriacam Andromachi. Elogia Virorum, qui visitarunt Musæum, et scripserunt in Libros ejus. Cathalogus omnium Virorum, qui miserunt Res naturales ad Musæum Aldrovandicum. Oratio habita in Archigymnasio Bononiæ. Methodus brevissima de Materia medica, quam perfectè calère debent Medici, et Pharmacopœi. De Regulis Mathematicis, Litera Dominicali, Aureo Circulo, et in quo Signo sit Luna, et quot Horis luceat, et de Epacta, et Indictione. Regulæ ad inveniendum in quo Gradu sit Sol. De Rotulo Studii Bononiæ, et Ordine Lecturarum, et Classium. Specimen generale omnium Rerum animatarum, et inanimatarum, quæ in nostro Museo ad vivum, ad Oculos ponuntur, pro majori Parte a nullo descriptæ, nec

nec in Lucem editæ. De Meteoris, seu Impressionibus in Aere genitis, de Fossilibus, et aliis inanimatis omnis Generis, tam naturalibus, quam artificialibus, et quæ habent Figuram determinatam, vel Luxu Naturæ, vel Casu, Volumen unum. De Admirandis, Observationes omnium Rerum naturalium, nempe Fossilium, Plantarum, et Animalium, prout in diversis Locis nascuntur, Opus Principibus, doctisq. ac iis præsertim, qui Musea sua amplificare student, utilissimum Volumen distinctum in quatuor Libros: I. agit de iis quæ in Asia, II. quæ in Europa, III. quæ in Africa, IV. quæ in Novo Orbe nascuntur.

In addition to these he has left several tracts composed in his youth, written in the Italian language, particularly a Description of the Statues of Rome, marble and bronze, which he drew up when a student in that city. Aldrovandi is mentioned by several writers. See Bumaldi, Bibl. Bonon. Mercklin. Linden. renovat. Crasso Elog. Miræus Script. Sec. 16. Imperial Museum. Bûlart Acad. des Sciences. Bayle Hendreich. Patininia, p. 64.

NICHOLAS WOOD, THE GLUTTON.

ONE Nicholas Wood of Harrison, in the county of Kent, yeoman, did eat with ease a whole sheep of sixteen shillings price, and that raw, at one meal; another time he eat thirty dozen of pigeons. At Sir William Sedley's he eat as much as would have sufficed thirty men: at the Lord Wotton's in Kent, he eat at one meal eighty-four rabbits, which number would have sufficed one hundred and sixty-eight men, allowing to each half a rabbit. He suddenly devoured eighteen yards of black pudding, London measure, and having once eat sixty pounds weight of cherries, he said, they were but wastemeat. He made an end of a whole hog at once, and after it swallowed three pecks of damsons; this was after breakfast, for he said he had eat one pottle of milk, one pottle of pottage, with bread, butter, and cheese, before. He eat in my presence, saith Taylor, the water poet, six penny wheaten loaves, three sixpenny veal pies, one pound of sweet butter, one good dish of thornback, and a sliver of a peck household loaf, an inch thick, and all this within the space of an hour: the house yielded no more, so he went away unsatisfied.

One John Dale was too hard for him at a place

called Lenham. He laid a wager, he could fill Wood's belly with good wholesome victuals for two shillings, and a gentleman waged on the contrary, that, when he had eaten out Dale's two shillings, he should then presently eat up a good sirloin of beef. Dale brought six pots of mighty ale, and twelve new penny white loaves, which he sopped therein, the powerful fume whereof conquered this conquerer, and laid him asleep to the preservation of the roast beef, and unexpected winning of the wager. He spent all his estate to provide for his belly; and though a landed man, and a true labourer, he died very poor in 1630.

PORTRAIT OF CATHERINE, LATE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

Taken from the Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg: written by a Gentleman who resided ten Years in her Court.

LET not the misfortunes and abuses of her reign give to the private character of this princess too dark and repulsive a shade! She appeared to be thoroughly humane and generous, as all who approached her experienced: all who were

were admitted to her intimacy were delighted with the good-natured sallies of her wit: all who lived with her were happy. Her manners were gay and licentious, but she still preserved an exterior decorum, and even her favourites treated her with respect. Her love never excited disgust, nor her familiarity contempt. She might be deceived, won, seduced, but she would never suffer herself to be governed. Her active and regular life, her moderation, firmness, fortitude, and even sobriety, are moral qualities which it would be highly unjust to ascribe to hypocrisy. How great might she not have been, had her heart been as well governed as her mind! She reigned over the Russians less despotic than over herself; she was never hurried away by anger, never a prey to dejection, and never indulged in transports of immoderate joy. Caprice, ill humour, and peevishness, formed no part of her character, and were never perceived in her conduct. I will not decide whether she were truly great, but she was certainly beloved *.

* Many quatrains have been composed, either to serve as an epitaph, or be placed under the portrait of Catherine; but none have been struck off so happily, or describe her so truly, as the following. They are from the pens of two young Russians, the pleasant qualities of whose minds are enhanced by those of an admirable character and a generous heart.

Elle

ROEDERER'S RHAPSODICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR, RAISED IN FRANCE.

THE legion of honour, which is proposed to you, is intended to be an institution in aid of all our republican laws, and to serve as a consolidation of the revolution. It pays to civil as well as military services the reward of the courage they have all displayed. It unites them in

---

Elle fit oublier, par un esprit sublime,
D'un pouvoir odieux, les énormes abus;
Elle se maintint pour ses vertus,
Sur un trône acquis par le crime.

Translation.

"Bless'd in her sway, her subjects might disown
Th' unnumber'd evils of despotic rule;
And though a crime had fix'd her on the throne,
She reign'd by precepts drawn from virtue's school."

Another:

Dans le sein de la paix au milieu de la guerre,
A tous ses ennemis elle dicta la loi:
Par ses talens divers elle étonna la terre,
Ecrivit comme un sage, et reigna comme un roi.

"Amid the train of peace, or din of war,
Each foe appall'd, her sovereign will obey'd;
Her mighty *genius* held the world in awe,
Like sages wrote, like Jove the sceptre sway'd."

the

the same glory, as the nation unites them in the same gratitude. It unites by a common distinction men already united by honourable retrospects. It associates, by sweet affections, men, whom reciprocal esteem disposed to love each other. It places under the protection of their consideration and of their oaths, our laws, calculated for the conservation of equality, liberty, and property. It effaces the distinctions of nobility, which placed inherited glory before acquired glory, and the descendants of great men before great men. It is a moral institution; which gives force and activity to that spring of honour, which so powerfully moves the French people. It is a political institution, which places in society a middle order *(des intermediaires)* by which the acts of power are laid before opinion with charitableness and fidelity, and by which opinion may be conveyed to power. It is a military institution, which will draw to our armies that portion of the French youth, which, without its aid, it would be necessary to struggle for against the allurements of that effeminacy which is the companion of great wealth. In a word, it is the creation of a new denomination of money of a very different kind from that which issues from the public treasury—of a money, the title of which is unalterable, and whose mine can never be exhausted, because it consists in

French

French honour—of a money, which, in fact, can alone be the recompense of actions considered above all recompense.

WALSINGHAM.

WALSINGHAM in his private character was of unblemished honesty: as a minister he had singular sagacity in procuring intelligence, which he knew to apply with great dexterity to the purposes of government: devoting himself, with so generous a self-neglect, to the service of his country, that he gained a reputation for contempt of riches, which would have been highly reverenced in the best times of antiquity, and will go near, in these days, to be thought either folly or frenzy.

Mallet's Life of Chancellor Bacon.

Walsingham, and others, who, having already tasted the sweetness of confiscations, instigated Queen Elizabeth to exercise great severity on the English Roman Catholics, designing to make that party desperate by ill-usage, in hopes they would rebel and forfeit their estates; but when truth could not be found against them, Walsingham, by counterfeit letters, and confessions extorted

torted by the pains and terrors of the rack, tumultuated the people with chimerical dangers, only to prepare them for the intended murder of the Queen of Scotland, in whose blood he was most deeply dipped.

Higgon's Life of Elizabeth, p. 218.

ERASMUS.

ERASMUS, whilst yet a schoolboy, composed a panegyric on King Philip (father of Charles V.), on his coming out of Spain into Germany. His Majesty took such notice of his early wit, that he honoured him with a yearly pension during his life.

King Henry VIII. of England, wrote to him with his own hand, ordered him several valuable presents, offered him a house and land, with six hundred florins a year, if he would reside in England.

Francis I. King of France, also wrote to him; offered him a bishopric and 1000 florins a year, if he would live in France.

The Emperor Charles V. offered him a bishopric in Sicily, made him one of his privy council; allowed him a pension of 400 florins a year,

a year, and promised to make it 500, if he would occasionally reside in his court.

Sigismund King of Poland, and Ferdinand King of Hungary, were very bountiful to him, and repeatedly invited him to dwell in their dominions.

Ann Princess of Verona allowed him a pension of 100 florins a year.

Frederick Duke of Saxony, and William Duke of Gulick, made him several presents.

Pope Adrian VI. wrote to him three several times with his own hand.

When Pope Clement VII. was raised to the purple, he congratulated his Holiness on that event; who in requital sent him a purse of 500 florins, and by his apostolic letters invited him to Rome.

Pope Paul III. intended to have raised him to the rank of a Cardinal, if death had not prevented him.

William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave him an exhibition.

Cardinal Wolsey allowed him a pension out of a prebend of York.

The bishops of Lincoln and Rochester liberally supplied him with money, &c. on all occasions.

Polydore Virgil sent him money to buy a

horse; and the Lord Cromwell transmitted him thirty angels.

Lord Montjoy, Sir Thomas More, Bishop Tonstal, and Dean Collet, were his constant benefactors.

Cardinal Mattheo offered him a pension of five hundred a year to live in Rome, and sent him a cup of pure gold.

Albertus, Archbishop, Cardinal, and Elector of Mentz, sent him also a cup of gold, richly ornamented with precious stones.

Cardinal Campegius, among other presents, sent him a diamond ring of great value.

Stanislaus Olmucensis sent him a silver bowl, double gilt, with four pieces of gold, the coin of an ancient Emperor.

The Bishop of Basil offered him half the revenue of his bishopric.

Thurxo, Bishop of Uratislavo, went six days journey out of his way to see him.

William Earl of Eyrenberg gave him a dagger, which, by the inscription, "he wished in the hearts of all his enemies."

Vide Beat. Rhenanus in Epist. Operibus Erasm. præfixa. Adam in ipsius Vita. Jovius in Elog. Chytræus de Laud, Westphal. Scaliger Orat. 2. et Epistol. Swert. Athen. Belg. Bullart. Academ. des Scienc. t. i. H. Patin in Vita Erasmi

prefixa

prefixa Encomio Moriæ. Stocken in Thuan. Enucl. Seckendorf Hist. Luth. Baillet Jugem. des Sav. J. C. Iselii Vita Lud. Beri in Fascic. Brem. Bayle. Le Clerc Bibl. Choisie, an. 1703, p. 380, and an. 1705, t. v. p. 145. and t. vi. p. 7, seq. &c.

THE ACT FOR MARRYING WITH IERISHMEN.

Lambeth MSS. D. No. 603. p. 52. Anno 28. Henrici VIII.

The Lord Leonard Grey, Deputie, to the Duke of Richmond, &c.

FORASMOCHE as by marriage ulterege and fosteringe of the King's subjects of this his land of Ireland with his Grace's Yerishe rebells great lacke of obedience hath growen to his Highness and most noble progenitors of their people within the lande, and by the same dyvers enormities, myschiefs, and inconvenyences, have insued and comen to his said lovying subjectes, from tyme to tyme, for the more parte duryng this 200 years, and as evidently to evry of the Kyngs subjectes of this hys lande for the tyme beinge, havinge knowlege and practice, plainely did, and doth appeare, and though in the tyme of the King's most noble progenitors, the same mischeives and inconveniences which followed

sithence, to the utter undoing of his Grace's former subjectes was then right well perceived, and divers good estates and actes, by authoritie of Parliament, therefore provided, wherein is conteyned, that every the King's subjectes should be a traditor attainted, yet, notwithstanding what by the default and negligence of the heads and rulers of this land, under the King's Highness, that the said estatutes, or ether acts, were not duly putte in execution, as the willful appetite of his said subjects havinge no remembrance of their bonden duties to their most dread Souvrain Lorde, ther own commoditie, quietness, and ptise, ne the uilytie and publique weele of ther native countrie, ne yet the contempte or dandger of the transgressing of the said actes, did often and many times, as well marry as foster with the same Yerish rebells, and sometymes by fraude and covyne.—Haveinge then a perfect knollege, and an intente that every such Yerishe rebell with whom they entended to marry or foster, wold in no parte use himself wyth the Kynge's true and obediente subjects, should appertain but for ther owne saulfguarde and discharge from the penaltie and dandgear of the said estatutz and acts, duely to delude and desarm the ordinance and purvey of the same, did procure to make the same Irish rebells, with whom they intended so to marry or foster, denizons, by the King's most gracious letters

letters patents. And whereas the said Yerish rebells so made denisons, did or doe in no parte use themselves as to the King's subjectes doth apperteyne, throughe whiche the King's Highness hath lost, for the more part, the obedience of his people of this his land, and divers mischiefs and inconvenientz to his said subjects, from tyme to tyme hath insued, and much more like to ensue, unless that some good remedy or provision be had or provided in that behalf: for reformation whereof be it enacted, ordeyn'd, and established, by authoritie of this present parliament, that no person, ne person or persons, the King's subjects, wythyn this his lande, of what estate, degree, dignitie, or condition soever he or they be, shall marry or foster themselves, their children, or kinsfolke, withyn the fourthe degree, or any of them, to or with any Yerish person or persons of Yrishe blood, which be not the King's true subjects, ne use themselves accordingly, thoughe any such person or persons be made denizons, unless every suche person, soe to be made denizon, doe his homage and feaulte before the King's Chancellour, or Keeper of the Grete Seele, for the time beynge, to the Kyng's Hyghnesse, swearinge the othe comprised in Chav. . . of succession, for the fulfyllyng and accomplishment of the effect, tenor, and purport, and alsoe shal be bounde by recognisance between the King's

Chancellor, or keeper of his Grace's Greate Seale of thys his lande, for the tyme beinge, in such sume of moneye as to the said Chancellor, or Keeper of the Greate Seale, shal be thought mete and convenient; that he, from the tyme that he is made Denisone, shal be faithfulle, true, and obedient to the King's Hyghness, his heyres and successoures; and that everie persone and persons, the King's subjects within this his lande, that shall so marry or foster themselves, ther chyldren, or kynsfolke, or any of them, to or wyth anie such persone or persons of Yerish blode, as is aforesaide, without fraude or cozyne, at the time of the said marriage or fostering, shall have a true and unfayned intente and meanyng, that the party so made denison with whom or they intende so to marrye or foster themselves, will, during his natural life, be faithfull, true, and obedient to the King's Highness, his heirs and successours; and if any persone or persons now made, or which shall hereafter be made denisons, at any tyme or tymes hereafter, with whom any such marriage or fostering shal be had or made, doe transgresse his fidelitie and senthe to the King, his heirs or successours, using himself as the King's rebell, and proclamation thereof made by the King's Lieutenant or Deputy, or by his or their commandment, by the advice of the King's counsell, in the shire or open

open markett next adjoyning to such offenders, then everie suche of the King's subjects as so shall have maried or fostered with any such denison, so rebelling or offending, contrary to his othe or duty, shall utterlie avoide any willfull family, amitie, or company, with him or them that soe shall offende, unlesse it be to reconcile suche offender or offendors, to acknowlege their offences committed to the King's Majestie, or else to the extente to have restitutione of such goods as any such persone or persones, so offending, have taken from any the King's subjects. And if any of his Highness's subjects, of this his land, doe offend in the premises, or in any parcell thereof, that then any such offence shall be deemed highe treason, and that everie persone or persons so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the due order and process of the King's lawes, shall be adjudgd a traditor, attointed of high treasone, and shall have and suffer such paynes of deathe, losses, and forfaitures of lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, as in cases of highe treason.

And be it enacted alsoe, by the autoritie aforesaid, that yf anie such persone or persones, made or to be made denizons, doe not to his or ther will, knolleach, and power, fulfille and accomplysh the tenour, purporte, and effecte of the said othe, and of the condicions of the said recognisance,

cognisance, and wilfully transgresse, and withdrawe ther obedience and bounden dutie to their most dread Sovrain Lorde, from his Highnesse, that then yf any such person or persons, the King's true subjects, their friends, and servants, that hath maried or fostered, or at any time hereafter shall marry or foster themselves, their chyldren, kynsfolkes, or any of them, to or with any such persone or persons made, or to be made, denisons, will or doe eyde, mainteyne or suppexts, succour, counsell, favour, or by any other means encourage any such persone or persons so made or to be made denisons, contemptuously offending, as is aforesaid, unless it be to reconcile and bring them to their duty of obedience to their most dread Soverein Lorde, or else to have restitution of goods by them taken, as is aforesaide, that then he or they so offending, and every of them being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the due order and process of the King's lawes, shall be adjudged a traditor, attainted of high treason, and shall have and suffer such paynes of death, losses, forfaitures of lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, as in cases of high treason.

And be it farther enacted, that every article, clause, and sentence comprised in any other act or acts, which be repugnant or contrary to the effecte, tenor, and purport of this act, or any thing thereyn conteyned, shall void to all entents and

and purposes, provided that this act be not enforced, or take execution before the same be proclaimed in every shire, in due form.

EFFECT OF GRATITUDE.

IN the year 1758, John Wilson, a young man of slender education, was condemned to suffer death for a riot. The contrition he evinced for the crime he had committed, his youth, and good character, induced his Majesty, on the representation of several respectable persons, to extend the most amiable prerogative of the crown, the royal mercy. In a few hours after the reprieve reached the repentant convict, he poured forth the effusions of his grateful heart in the following verses, which he wrote with his own hand, though it was never known that he had ever attempted any thing of the kind before:

And live I yet, by power divine?
And have I still my course to run?
Again brought back in its decline,
The shadow of my parting sun?

Wond'ring I ask, Is this the breast,
Struggling so late with grief and pain?
The eyes which upward look'd for rest,
And dropt their wearied lids again?

The

The recent horrors still appear:
Oh, may they never cease to awe!
Still be the King of Terrors near,
Whom late in all his pomp I saw.

Torture and grief prepar'd his way,
And pointed to a yawning tomb
Darkness behind eclips'd the day,
And check'd my forward hopes to come.

But now the dreadful storm is o'er,
Ended at last the doubtful strife;
And, living, I the Hand adore,
That gave me back again my life.

God of my life, what just return
Can sinful dust and ashes give?
I only live my sins to mourn,
To love my God, I only live.

To thee, benign and sacred Power,
I consecrate my lengthen'd days;
While, mark'd with blessings, ev'ry hour
Shall speak thy co-extended praise.

CRIMINAL PROSECUTION.

M. DE VOLTAIRE's *Observations on the Nature and Strength of Proofs and Presumptions in criminal Prosecutions. (From his* "Prize of Justice and Humanity.")

M. DE Voltaire does not think two witnesses sufficient to prove the crime of a delinquent; and

and he alleges several cases, beside the famous and well-known case of the daughter of Sirven, which seem to justify his opinion. "A cabal," says he, "of the populace of Lyons, declared in 1772, that they saw a company of young people carrying, amidst singing and dancing, the dead body of a young woman, whom they had ravished and assassinated. The depositions of the witnesses to this abominable fact, or pretended fact, were unanimous; and, nevertheless, the judges acknowledged solemnly, in their sentence, that there had been neither singing nor dancing, nor girl violated, nor dead body carried. This may have been, in part, the fault of the judges, who (as our author insinuates, and even affirms more than once in this work) are in France often more perfidious and corrupt than the witnesses. The case, indeed, of M. de Pivardiere is most singular, as it is almost incredible, and is nevertheless (according to our author) a public fact. Madame de Chauvelin, his second wife, was accused of having had him assassinated in his castle. Two servant maids were witnesses of the murder: his own daughter heard the cries and last words of her father: 'My God! have 'mercy upon me!' One of the maid servants, falling dangerously ill, took the sacrament; and while she was performing this solemn act of re-

ligion, declared before God, that her mistress intended to kill her master. Several other witnesses testified, that they had seen linen stained with his blood; others declared that they had heard the report of the gun, by which the assassination commenced. His death was averred: nevertheless, at length it appeared, that there was no gun fired, no blood shed, nobody killed. What remains is still more extraordinary: M. de la Pivardiere returned home; he appears in person before the judges of the province, who were preparing every thing to execute vengeance on his murderer. The judges are resolved not to lose their process; they affirm to his face that he is dead; they brand him with the accusation of imposture for saying that he is alive; they tell him that he deserves exemplary punishment for coining a lie before the tribunal of justice; and maintain, that their procedures are more credible than his testimony. In a word, this criminal process continued eighteen months before the poor gentleman could obtain a declaration of the court that he was alive."

M. de Voltaire relates several other instances of the criminal precipitation, or still more criminal iniquity, of the French tribunals, in condemning to death, in its most cruel forms, innocent, inoffensive, nay, virtuous citizens. The

story of Monthaille, who, without any accuser, witness, or any probable or suspicious circumstances, was seized by the superior tribunal of Arras in 1770, and condemned to have his hand cut off, to be broken on the wheel, and to be afterwards burned alive, for killing his mother, is one of those horrors that astonish and confound. This sentence was executed, and his wife was on the point of being thrown into the flames as his accomplice, when she pleaded her pregnancy, and gave the Chancellor of France, who was informed of this infernal iniquity, time to have the sentence reversed, when her husband had fallen a victim to the bloody tribunal of Arras. "The pen trembles in my hand," cries our author, "while I relate these enormities! We have seen, by the letters of several French lawyers, that not one year passes, in which one tribunal or another does not stain the gibbet or the rack with the blood of unfortunate citizens, whose innocence is afterwards ascertained when it is too late."

STEALING DEAD BODIES.

On Saturday, December 6th, 1777, a Trial came on at Guildhall, Westminster, before Sir J. Hawkins, Knight, Chairman, extremely interesting to all those whose Affections extend beyond the Grave, and who still "love the Mansion for the sake of the Guest:" as it was the first Indictment of the Kind, and of course involved a Difficulty in the Decision of the Law, the Substance of the whole may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

J. HOLMES, the grave-digger of St. George's Bloomsbury, Robert Williams his assistant, and Esther Donaldson, were indicted for a misdemeanor, for stealing the dead body of Mrs. Jane Sainsbury, who died on the 9th of last October, and was buried in the burial-place of St. George's Bloomsbury, on the Monday following. Mr. Howarth, counsel for the prosecution, stated the case to the jury with great exactness and proper comments on such species of inhumanity, observing, that by their verdict they would afford the court an opportunity of inflicting a punishment on men whose crimes were shocking to humanity.

Mr. Keys, counsellor for the prisoners, objected to the indictment, and insisted, that if the offence

offence was not felony, it was nothing, for it could not be a misdemeanor, and therefore not cognizable by that court, or contrary to any law whatever. Sir J. Hawkins inquired of Mr. Howarth the reason for not indicting for a felony, as thereby the court was armed with power to punish as severely as such inhuman acts deserved. Mr. Howarth explained this, saying, that to constitute a felony there must be a felonious taking away property; and if the shroud or any other thing, such as the pillow, &c. or any part of it, had been stolen, it would have been a felony. In this case he said nothing of that kind had been done; the body was only stolen, and though in their hurry of conveying away the deceased, they had torn off the shroud and left pieces behind in the churchyard, yet there being no intention of taking them away, it was no felony, and therefore only a misdemeanor. Mr. Keys again insisted, that it was no misdemeanor; but Sir J. Hawkins very ably refuted him, shewing from the most early ages that the rites of sepulture in all countries and all religions were deemed sacred, and the violation of them a species of sacrilege. He mentioned the Romans as a period wherein the most sacred regard was held to burial-places, and to the ashes of the dead; that it was dictated by intuitive religion, and an offence both under the public and the

canon

canon law, and particularly defined in all books of law, or otherwise (and he said he had searched every book written on the subject with great care and attention), as a crime *contra bonos mores* (i. e. an offence against decency and good manners), and expressed his surprise, that any man in the capacity of a lawyer, could stand up and say it was not a misdemeanor when it was an offence *contra bonos mores*. Sir J. Hawkins also reminded Mr. Keys that if his objection was good, it was premature, for it should come as a motion for arrest of judgment.

The trial then went on.

Mr. Eustanston, who lives near the Foundling Hospital, deposed, that going by the Foundling Hospital about eight o'clock in the evening with some other gentlemen, they met the prisoner, Williams, with a sack on his back, and another person walking with him; having some suspicion of a robbery, he stopped Williams, and asked him what he had got there? to which the prisoner said, "I don't know;" but that pulling the sack forcibly off his back, the prisoner begged to be let go; and said he was a poor man just come from *harvest*. Mr. Eustanston untied the sack, and, to his great astonishment, found the deceased body of a woman, her heels tied up tight behind her, her hands tied together behind, and cords round her neck, forcibly bending her head almost between her legs. The horror they were

were all in at such a sight, prevented them from securing the other person, who ran off; but they secured Williams, and took him to the round-house, where he was well known to be the assistant grave-digger to Holmes, and went by the name of Bobby. To make a more effectual discovery, the next day they, with Mr. Evans, a constable, applied to Holmes as he was digging in the churchyard, who, on being asked, denied any knowledge of Bobby or Williams, or of any such a man; neither could he recollect whether any body had been within a few days buried, or, if it had, he could not tell where. However, by the appearance of the mould, they insisted on his running into the ground his long iron crow, and then they discovered a coffin, only six inches under ground, out of which the body had been taken. This appeared, on strict inquiry, to be the coffin of a Mrs. Guy, who had been buried the preceding Wednesday, very deep. The gentlemen present, not yet satisfied, examined the ground further, and then discovered another coffin, out of which the body of Mrs. Jane Sainsbury had been stolen; and whilst this examination took place, Holmes was detected in hiding in his pockets several small pieces of shroud, which lay contiguous to her grave.

Mr. Sainsbury was under the painful necessity of appearing in court, and swearing, that

the body found on Williams was his wife; and, indeed, poor man! he seemed but too much afflicted in giving his evidence.

Mrs. Elizabeth Barret, who has the care of the other burial-ground, proved that Williams had been constantly employed by Holmes.

Mr. Evans, the constable, also produced several sacks, marked H. ELLIS, found in Holmes's house; and this was brought as circumstantial evidence, as the sack in which Mrs. Sainsbury was tied, was also marked H. ELLIS.

Sir John Hawkins summed up the evidence, and the jury directly found Holmes and Williams GUILTY: Esther Donaldson, against whom there was no evidence, NOT GUILTY.

After the bench had considered of the crime, Sir John Hawkins passed sentence, which was, six months imprisonment, and each to be publicly and severely whipped, twice in the first and last week of their imprisonment, from Kingsgate Street, Holborn, to Dyot Street, St. Giles's, which is full half a mile *.

* That part of the sentence which related to the whipping was remitted.

RETALIATION.

The following Lines were written by BOILEAU. *The Poet little thought at the Time, that a Period would arrive when the Crimes with which he reproaches the English could be retorted with equal Justice and Indignation on his own Countrymen. The last Verse is written in the true Spirit of Gallic Fanfaronade.*

ODE CONTRE LES ANGLOIS,

SUR UN BRUIT QUI COURUT EN 1656, QUE CROMWELL ET LES ANGLOIS ALLOIENT FAIRE LA GUERRE A LA FRANCE.

QUOI? ce peuple aveugle en son crime,
Qui prenant son Roi pour victime
Fit du trone un theatre affreux,
Pense-t-il que le Ciel, complice
D'un si funeste sacrifice,
N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux?

Déjà sa flotte a pleines voiles,
Malgre les vents et les étoiles,
Veut maitriser tout l'univers;
Et, croire que l'Europe étonnée
A son audace forcenée
Va céder l'empire des mers.

Arme-toi France, prends la foudre;
C'est à toi de reduire en poudre

Ces sanglants ennemis des loix !
Suis la victoire qui t'appelle,
Et va sur ce peuple rebelle
Venger la querelle des Rois.

Jadis on vit ces parricides,
Aides de nos soldats perfides,
Chez nous au comble de l'orgueil,
Briser tes plus fortes murailles ;
Et par le gain de vingt batailles,
Mettre tous les peuples en deuil.

Mais bientot le Ciel en colère,
Par la main d'une humble bergere,
Renversant tous leurs bataillons,
Borna leur succès et nos peines ;
Et leur corps pouris dans nos plaines,
N'ont fait qu'engraisser nos sillons.

TRANSLATION.

ODE AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

[Written in 1656, on hearing that CROMWELL and the ENGLISH were about to make War upon FRANCE.]

WHAT would this furious nation aim at now ?
(A race that can't be bound by any vow ;)
Long lost to every sense of public good,
Such is their fev'rish thirst of human blood,
That they have drain'd their very sovereign's veins,
And drench'd with reeking gore their native plains.
What new-invented crime would they *improve* ?
Do they believe there is no God above ?

Or

Or if they do, that he has chang'd his laws,
And makes himself a party in their cause?
Oh! impious thought, of blackest, deepest die!
Soon shall th' unerring bolt of vengeance fly,
Soon shall their flinty hearts dissolve in fear,
When God arrests them in their mad career.
Their fleet already see has wing'd its flight,
In spite of stars, and elements, and night;
The globe itself they madly hope to seize,
And reign triumphant lord of all the seas.
Let France arise and all her thunders wield,
And meet those tyrants on the liquid field.
'T is thine, oh Gallia! to avenge the cause
Of murder'd kings and violated laws;
'T is thine to strike the long-intended blow,
And lay those proud rebellious people low.
Long have those parricides in triumph shone,
With laurel crown'd beneath each varying zone;
Our numbers, forts, and arts, scarce aught avail'd,
Oblig'd to yield, if Britons once assail'd.
How oft in sables have they put our land,
And chas'd our navy even to our strand!
But cheer, ye Gauls! a brighter dawn appears:
Our country wipes away her children's tears;
Our foes shall feel an humble shepherd's might,
And trust at last for safety to their flight;
Their bodies shall manure our grateful soil,
And songs of triumph soon repay our toil.

DIALOGUE BETWIXT SOMEBODY AND NOBODY.

Somebody. WHY, 't is as hard to get a sight of you, Mr. Nobody, as it is of the *invisible* girl. I have called twenty times a day at your house. Nobody at home, is the constant answer. If I should go to church, however, I am sure to meet with Nobody there, especially when Dr. Triplechin preaches.

Nobody. And you 're sure to meet with Somebody in all places of public resort, the opera, play, pic-nic, card-parties, &c.

Somebody. Yes: and you will often meet with Nobody in those places, that would wish to pass for Somebody.

Nobody. 'T is true, the Somebody family of late have affected a great deal of consequence, when it is well known, that the Nobody family are the more ancient of the two. The Nobodies, I assure you, Sir, are the true Pre-adamites. The name is on record long before Adam.

Somebody. So is the family of Blank.

Nobody. A very old race.

Somebody. If we may credit the Spectator, they once filled all places of public trust in this kingdom.

Nobody.

Nobody. In trust for others, particularly the family of the Blocks.

Somebody. The Blocks one day or other will be the ruin of this nation.

Nobody. And yet they are great favourites with Somebody.

Somebody. Because they can be moulded into any form. But what does genealogy, in these degenerate days? Get your nativity cast in the mint: a thousand guineas in your purse is worth all the *Aps*, *Macs*, and *O's* in the United Kingdom. If there's a stain in your character, a little gold-dust will take it out—the best fuller's earth in the nation. What does it avail, that your ancestors bled in the front of battle, piled up thunder for the insulting foe, or diffused the stream of science through a thousand channels? don't you see the upstart hung round with titles, and the obscurity of his birth lost in the glare of his sideboard?

Nobody. True: and yet Bonaparte would give a good deal for a genealogy.

Somebody. Yes: the French, who seem to be proud of the chains he has imposed on them, have really turned his head; they have fed him with the soft pap of flattery, they have inflated him with the *gas* of vanity to the size of an air-balloon, and yet withal they cannot

manufacture a genealogy so as to please him: his father was Nobody.

Nobody. And happy would it be for the repose of mankind, if he had been content to tread in the steps of his father.

Somebody. Happy indeed. Now, my good friend, I wish you well, but am often surprised that you swallow things without the least examination—things that would stick in the wide throat of credulity. For instance, when the editor of a newspaper tells you that his print exclusively contains the earliest and most authentic articles of information, Nobody believes. When Bonaparte says, that he 'll invade this country, Nobody believes him. When a pensioner or placeman declares that he has nothing so much at heart as the good of his country, Noman believes him. When a quack doctor tells you that his nostrum cures all diseases, Nobody believes him. When a boarding-school Miss, in the bud of beauty, declares that she would not for the world take a flight to Gretna Green, Nobody believes her. I know there are many faults laid to your account: thus when a favourite article of furniture is spoiled or broken, Nobody did it. Thus also when a lady affects indisposition, she sees Nobody, speaks to Nobody, writes to Nobody, dreams of Nobody.

Nobody.

Nobody. But her waiting-woman knows that she sees Somebody, speaks to Somebody, writes to Somebody, and dreams of Somebody. When a fine lady shines forth in all the glory of the Persian loom, showered with diamonds, and essenced with all the sweets of Arabia, if the spouse should collect courage enough to ask who paid for all those fine things, the answer is, Nobody; but when the account comes to be settled at Doctors Commons, then it is found that Somebody paid for them, or is to pay for them, with a vengeance too. One thing I remark, that, previous to the nuptial tie, the dear youth is always considered as Somebody, but whilst the honey-moon is yet in its wane he is looked upon as Nobody.

Somebody. Very true. After all I have said I must acknowledge, in the words of Goldsmith, that even your failings lean to virtue's side. For instance: if a play should be got up, puffed, and d—d, it 's applauded by Nobody. If a book is printed on wire-wove paper, hot-pressed, bound in morocco, and elegantly gilt, if found to be wretched stuff, it 's read by Nobody. If a book should be written in favour of religion and morality, though neglected by all, 't is read by Nobody. If a wretch should be consigned to the gallows for robbing a man of sixpence on the highway, he is pitied by Nobody, he is owned by Nobody, he

is comforted by Nobody; whilst on the other hand, if a villain in high life should rob an unsuspecting virgin of her heart, or triumph over her innocence——

Nobody. He is noticed by Somebody, caressed by Somebody, applauded by Somebody, invited to dine by Somebody, and held out by Somebody as the honestest and worthiest fellow in the universe.

Somebody. Too true.

REV. MR. BALL.

MR. John Ball is the son of the late Doctor Ball, a clergyman of the church of England, a gentleman whose worth and learning would have shed lustre on a mitre, even in the days of St. Bernard. John was his eldest son, I think; and as he was willing to learn, and the father able and willing to teach, and as these mutual advantages fall to the lot of few, it need not be matter of surprise if our pupil, whilst yet a boy, could look behind him on those of riper years, who had set out with him at the same time, and who had yet to contend with difficulties that he had surmounted. The soil, to use the expression of Vossius, was good of itself, and only required to

to be wedded. As the Doctor had read mankind through the spectacles of books, he, good, easy man, imagined that every man, in church or state, who had attained the topmost round of the ladder of preferment, was indebted for his exaltation to parts and learning; not that he was ambitious that his son should sit in the "uneasy seat of high desires;" but he conceived, and rightly conceived too, that a saint in crape should be twice a saint in lawn, because he had it in his power to render a double service to mankind, and to make every one happy about him. The son imbibed the same opinion. Warmed with these thoughts, the teacher and the disciple went hand in hand together; they read together, conversed together, and played together. Young Ball having now laid in a sufficient stock of classical learning, was sent to Trinity College in Dublin. His tutor could appreciate his learning, for he was one of those bookful blockheads that looked on genius as an *ignis fatuus*, that only tended to bewilder the understanding and to confound the judgment. Ball soon found his tutor had no music in his soul, and that the only way to conciliate his favour, as he was his father's particular friend, was to affect the deepest veneration imaginable for the Greek and Roman writers, and to decry the moderns as the mere apes of the ancients. By this mean he

he won so far on the good opinion of his tutor, that he advised him to read for a fellowship. This required a course of reading, indeed, that was not very congenial to Ball's inclination; he did not wish, even for a while, to bid adieu to the flowery paths of learning, in which he took such delight, to sit down to an asinine feast of sow-thistle and brambles. After some consideration, however, he yielded to the wishes of his father and tutor, who had every right to flatter themselves with the fullest hopes of success, and that the university would reap the advantages of those talents she had cherished. The day of trial came, big with the fate of young Ball: the candidates were many; and though he was not excelled by any one of them in taste, genius, or quickness of perception, yet he was obliged to yield the lingering palm to memory; that single faculty bore off the prize: at the same time, Mr. Ball was blessed with a memory capable of retaining every thing that was worthy of being retained. On this occasion it may be said, that he assisted to crown his rival; for he pronounced a panegyric on his talents, in which the liberality of his sentiments was nearly equalled by the happiness of the thoughts, and the beauty of the language in which they were conveyed. The bar now presented itself as a wide field of honour and emolument; but his close application to study

study had impaired his health, nor did he feel a disposition to qualify himself for a profession that, in all probability, would exhaust the remainder of it. He was, besides, fond of lettered ease and retirement; and as his earliest wish was to promote the real happiness of his fellow-beings, he thought, and wisely thought, that he could not do it more effectually than by treading in the steps of his father, his guide, philosopher, and friend. In order to recruit his health, he paid a visit to Wales, and passed a winter in London in the conversation of a select number of friends, with whom he continued to correspond after his return to his native country. He now entered into holy orders, and served a cure at a little distance from Dublin. The simplicity of his manners, the plainness and rationality of his discourses from the pulpit, endeared him to his parishioners, who looked up to him, not merely as their spiritual, but as their temporal guide, to the disappointment of the litigious attorney, and the ignorant upstart justice of the peace, who thought his authority invaded as often as the curate settled a dispute within the limits of his jurisdiction. Having married a young woman of good family and education, he was advised to open a classical academy for the instruction of a limited number of young gentlemen, which he did

dill in Skip Street, Dublin, in the year 1780. As the beauties of the Greek and Roman writers have been transfused into the English, it was his wish to make them of mutual subserviency to each other, and at the same time to bring the pupil acquainted with all the celebrated characters of modern days. I am sorry to say, that his plan was not crowned with the success it was entitled to: he was not of a nature, however, to be depressed by disappointment, nor yet to be stimulated beyond his strength by the hopes of reward: I am now going to give a proof of it: he lamented almost from the moment his reason began to dawn, that of all other studies, that of chronology was the most neglected; at the same time he was sensible, that those who had laboured in that mine were scarcely repaid with the dross which they separated from the ore. He saw that the chronologist was not to look for present profit nor present fame, nor future profit nor future fame; for who is he that has ever heard of the praises of a chronologist beyond the narrow circle of the enlightened few? What do the mob of mankind, even in high life, care about Syrian, Greek, or Hebrew years, months, or days? The present moment is all they look to; and he that can invent the giddiest round of pleasure is the greatest favourite. Ye that doubt this, look at the present race of insects, called

men, and their amusement, and then ask if the temple of folly ought not to be enlarged. Our ancestors, it is true, did not wish that departed merit should sleep "in dull oblivion;" they raised busts and monuments to the memory of those who had bled for their country. Take a walk into Westminster Abbey; there you meet with the images of heroes, statesmen, poets, and divines, but not a single marble to the memory of the chronologist. Inquire in the once proud city of Venice for the ashes of Danduli, it would be difficult to meet with one that could point out the spot where they repose; and yet this man spent fifty-five years in the composition of a chronological work: if you ask for it at a bookseller's, after some recollection, perhaps, he will tell you, that he sold it some years before to a cheesemonger for twopence a pound. Yet, after all, it is acknowledged, that two thirds of the empire of History, at least, would lie buried in night and confusion if Chronology did not shed her light; for, as every presumed fact in history should rest on authority, that authority is best ascertained by the time in which it is supposed to have happened, by geography and genealogy: by these means we are enabled to judge of the value of it, and to draw those deductions which naturally result from truth.

Mr.

Mr. Ball was sensible of all, and much more than I have stated; but he looked to the approbation of his own mind: this to him was a sufficient reward, together with the pleasures that arise out of the philosophical pursuit of truth.

He was eminently qualified for the laborious task he had undertaken, patient of research, a man of unbroken thought, a good mathematician, well skilled in ancient and modern languages, a cautious etymologist, with a mind hung round with eyes, that surveyed every object through both ends of the glass; and as he neither sought nor expected preferment in the church, for he could neither fawn nor flatter, of course, his repose was not interrupted with visionary glebe lands, silver vergers, rural deaneries, and all the pomp that waits on the ministers of humility and self-denial. His life was one even stream, as pure as it was unruffled; and if at times, which was but seldom, it curled with a momentary breeze, the sun of good-humour soon expanded its limpid bosom. Our fortunes having separated us for many years, perhaps those eyes, that would modestly survey this humble tribute of friendship, are now closed in death; if so, I have lost a friend that time cannot repair, and the learned world has to deplore the loss of a work, that would have placed the study of chronology

chronology in a point of view, in which it would have shone with all its advantages.

In turning over some papers, I met with the following poem, which he wrote in the sixteenth year of his age; and as it is the only effusion of his pen in the poetical line of which I am possessed, I have added it to this rude sketch.

THE DESCENT OF ANTHEMOE.

TIME! what wonders hast thou wrought!
Far above our skill or thought,
Far beyond our will or reach,
Far beyond wild *fancy*'s stretch,
Far beyond the pride of kings,
Vast unutterable things!
Led by *thee*, yon bridegroom sun
Has his joyful course begun;
Heav'n is set with dazzling spheres;
Signs that Heav'n's gay baldric wears,
Through thy various seasons roll,
To restore each languid pole.
Ev'ry wondrous thing we see,
Pow'rful *Time*, exists by thee!
All the world's stupendous frame
Owes to thee its place and name;
All its various change of old,
All its history enroll'd,
Thou beholdest at one look,
Noted in *thy* domesday book!

When this world of wonder fades,
And when glory, gloom invades,
When yon sun withdraws his light,
When sweet *Phœbe* leaves the night,
And when stars no longer burn,
Time, to *thee* they all return!
While thou op'st those awful writs,
And beside thee *Terror* sits,
And behind thee stares a vast
Cave, where this world's wrecks are cast
And before thee, through a wide
Gate, immensity descried;
Shrink'st thou not to read what hour
Shall this world and *thee* devour?
While through all thy wondrous ways,
Heav'n and earth enraptur'd gaze;
While vain sages think they know
Secrets *thou* alone canst shew,
Those deep characters imprest,
Time, on *thy* mysterious vest!
Sov'reign power, though all adore,
Love triumphant charms them more,
That o'er all this frame has chaste
Beauty, as its empress plac'd;
For whose service all things grew,
Birds for song, and buds for hue;
For *her* shape, the graceful twine;
For *her* eyes, that noonday shine;
For *her* vest's bright gem, the sun;
Heav'n's gay baldric, for *her* zone;
Earth with all its flowers sweet,
Spread beneath, to rest her feet;

For *her* sleep, the woodbine bow'rs;
For *her* leisure, roseate hours;
For *her* breath, the gales that fly;
For *her* canopy, the sky!
Thus for her reception fair,
Well arrang'd when all things were;
Thus, all this fair fame to wind
At the beck of gentle mind,
And o'er ev'ry rapturous soul
Love's sweet influence to roll,
With *one look* more truth to teach
Than whole clouds of sages preach,
To uphold fair Virtue's law,
And proud Vice to strike with awe,
In a robe of *oriflame*,
Down to earth *chaste Beauty* came,
While each rapturous element
Sprang to meet the blest descent.
If 't is true what legends say,
That in heav'n was holyday,
When this fair creation first
Forth from dungeon darkness burst,
Earth, with all its beauteous stores,
Sea, with all her beryl shores;
Should not bright *Anthemoe*'s birth
Rapture spread o'er heav'n and earth?
Since there dwells not with the blest
Fairer type of virtues best;
Since the blest with joy survey
Beauteous pictures form'd of clay;
Feel they not high transport when
Heav'nly love bestows on men,

Pent in darkness, eyes that might
Fill the courts of heav'n with light;
And, to teach those eyes to roll,
Breathes within a beauteous soul!
O! if *Venus* has a throne
She most loves to rest upon;
And if words have magic soft,
Tempting souls to soar aloft;
And if looks of angels can
Raise to rapture dying man,
'T is not *Paphia*'s temple fair,
'T is not Caria's tuneful air,
'T is not those sweet looks that stole
That *Idæan* shepherd's soul:—
Joys like these, if found below,
Only can *Anthemoe* shew!
In her *voice*, and *smile*, and *breast*,
Are the *looks*, the *notes*, the *nest!*
Thus, to second Heav'n's design,
To tempt mortals to their shrine,
And with quick'ning smile to cheer
Those who pine in pinfold here,
And with looks those souls o'erawe,
Who till now truth never saw,
(Grateful souls, her praise proclaim!)
Down to earth *Anthemoe* came;
While blest *Genii* guard her way,
Titan sheds a brighter day,
And o'er Paphia's glittering plain
Thousands throng, one look to gain:
So in Sidon's blissful land
Rapture crowded all the strand,

To

To behold the *galley* move,
At whose helm sat *holy Love*:
Next to him, in grace excell'd
Young *Adonis*, who upheld
That rich canopy, whose shade
Veil'd from eyes a new-born maid.
Underneath he oft would look,
Lest the rude air might have shook
Dewy hairs or azure vest,
Or dismantled beauty's breast.
Dawn'd with lustre new the morn;
Tritons wreath'd their joyful horn;
Nereids with the calm advance,
Ev'n old Ocean join'd the dance;
Gales, inspir'd with transports new,
Through the exulting streamers blew;
Billows wild their rage forbore,
When Idalia mov'd to shore.

KING OF SWEDEN.

Speech of the present King of Sweden, on his Ascension to the Throne; addressed to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania, and the principal Nobility of Sweden, assembled on that Occasion.

SWEDISH.

HOEGBORNE FURSTE,

DEN dag aer nu kommen, pao hwilken i kraft af min salige herr Faders *Testamente*, boer,

foer klara mig foer fullmyndig konung oefwer swea folk, och sielf antaga styrelse. Doa lag detta i herraus namn werkstaeller och anmodor eder kong. Hoeghet, at til mig oefwerlemna regiringen, den eder kongl. Hoeghet luttils foert; aer mit hierta uproendt af de lifligaste kaenslor; af woerdnad och tacksamhet foer foersynen, som utsedt mig at regera oefwer et fritt och sielf staendight folk; af kaerlek til detta i alla tider trogna och tappara folk; af oefwertygelse om widden och answarigheten af de plikter Iag har at upfylla, wid detta foer mig och oss alla sao wigtiga telfaelle, aoterkallas i waora sinnen den gemensamma foerlus, wi gjort; Iag af en huld fader, faoderneslandet af en woerdad och aelskad konung. Den irkaensla och woerdnad wi aere harom skyldige, herr aldrig af naogon redelig swensk kunnat foergaetas, men det naerwarande tilfaellat up waecker dem och waor sacknad pao et foerdubladt saett. Det aer wissetligen foer mig en smikrande loft, at i dag wara tolk af kaenslor, san delas af alla mina undersatare; och om mina uttryck aero swage, sao behoefwes foer en sadan konung, som den wi foerlorat, icke annat beroem aenden saknad som niom tragne och tacksamma broest foerwaras. Som jon, faor Iag nu offenteligen hembaera des memme den lifligaste erkaensla foer den oema waord, han haft foer mig, och hwilkin han aefwen straeckte laengre aen sit eget lif, dao hau

aot

aot eder, min aelkshada herr farboroder ? updrog foermynderskapet och regeiringen under mine omyndige aor. Eder kongl. hoeghet traedde in des staella baede foer mig och reket. Iag kaen er hwad moeda, hwad omsorger, hwad waksamhet, eder kongl. hoeghet anwaendt. Min tacksamhet skal der foere blifwa bestaendig. Dur sloersta beloening finner eder kongl. Hoeghet ni sit samwetes witsord men Iag wet, at eder kongl. Hoeghet aefwenskal rackna foer en Giis tilfredstaellelse, at se mig, hwars ungdom eder kongl. Hoeghet waerdat, pao et waersight saett handhafwa den spira, Iag nu inottager. Iag hoppas destil den store Gudens bestaend, och dao Iag boerjar utaefningen af mit dyra kall, aer det mig kaert, at infoer eder, hoegborne furstar, samt infoereder alla haer foersamlade gode herrar och swenske maen, mine kaere undersaotare, foerklara min oenskan och foeresatts, at foera rekets styrelse til allas waort baesta. Mina kaeraste foermaol skola blifwa, at altid foelja lagarne och raetwisan, sao at raett sker alla staond och hwar swensk man; at freda riket och foerswara des anseende; at oeka allmaen och enskilt waelmaoga, at noga waorda och raett anwaenda rekets medel; och et gnom alt detta wirma den stoersta glaedje foer in konung, at se sig angifwen af lyckelige undersaotare. Sjelf ung och ofoer faren, foerlitar Iag mig pao de goda raod Iag aemuar soeka, och i synnerhet pas mina

undersaotares kaerlek, hao diras bemaedande at gao sin konung til moetes och at med lika noggrauhet upfylla sina skyldigheter emot harom, san han sina emot dem. Dotta lankesaett och detta upfoerande has attid utmaerkt swenska folket. Iag har tagit til mit walsprack. Gud och falket. Dessa ord skola bestaendight paomaina mig menia plikter, mit auswar och ae stoed, hao hwilka, Iag mig kan fortroesta. Iag aer deremot oefwerty gad, at mine undersaotare likna foerfaedder, som alti fruklat Gud och aelskat sui konung, lika wisst sun de kuma wara foersaekrade at Iag auser deras kaerlek, som min ljuf watte beluming och min stoersta aera.

Translation.

HIGH-BORN PRINCE,

THE day is now come, on which, according to the last will of my late father, I ought to declare myself the lawful sovereign of Sweden, and to assume the government of it. I am now about to take this important duty on me, and to beg that your Royal Highness will assign over to me the realm, which you have governed in trust for me. My heart is deeply impressed with the warmest sentiments of gratitude to the Divine Providence, that ordained me to rule over a free and independent people, a faithful and courageous race, filled in all ages with love and affection to their prince. The consciousness of the extent and

and responsibilities of the duties of a king, fills me with the most awful reflections, especially at this time, when we have all to deplore the common loss, which is recorded in our minds, and present in our thoughts. I have to deplore the loss of an indulgent father, and Sweden a beloved and venerated king. The gratitude and love we owe to his memory never will be obliterated from the heart of every honest Swede: but the present moment recalls to mind our loss in a twofold manner. The lot which has fallen on me this day, to be the interpreter of the sentiment which is felt by all my subjects, is undoubtedly a circumstance highly flattering; and if my expressions are feeble in setting forth the loss of such a prince, his praise will be found in the heart-felt grief that is visible in the countenance of all that hear me. As his son, I thus publicly offer to his memory the warmest tribute of gratitude, for the paternal care which he evinced for me on every occasion, of which, in his dying moments, he gave a lasting proof, when he committed my tender years, and the government of the country, to the guardian care of you, my beloved uncle. Truly sensible of the importance of the charge, you trod in the steps of your beloved sovereign and brother, for the well being of me and the state. I know the pains, the anxiety, and the vigilance, that marked all your proceedings in that situation; my gratitude, therefore,

fore, to you shall be without end; but you will find your greatest reward in your own conscience. But this I know, that your Royal Highness will feel a peculiar satisfaction to behold me, whose youth you watched over, sway the sceptre committed to my hand, with justice and mercy, which I hope to do through the assistance of Almighty God; and in this moment that I begin to exercise that important duty, I am happy to declare to you, high-born Prince, and to all my good Lords, and dear Swedish subjects, here assembled, that it is my wish and inclination to govern this kingdom to the satisfaction and content of all: it shall always be my darling object to observe the due maintenance of the laws, so that justice may be administered in all its purity, without respect of persons, and also to protect and maintain the dignity of the kingdom; to adopt such salutary measures as may tend to increase the public and private prosperity of the nation, to employ its resources with prudence and economy, so that I promise myself, by these means, to enjoy the greatest pleasure that a king can feel, to see himself surrounded by his faithful and happy subjects. Young and inexperienced, I shall resort to the best counsel, and, above all, I trust to the love of my subjects, and in their exertions, to aid their prince in the discharge of his duty, by acting up to their own. Such mutual

duty

duty will not fail, under the auspices of Heaven, to ensure the stability and happiness of the state. These sentiments and this conduct have at all times peculiarly distinguished the Swedes. I have adopted as a motto, "God, and the people:" these words shall always remind me of my duty and responsibility, and the prop on which I am to lean. I am fully persuaded that my subjects will walk in the path of their forefathers, who always feared God and honoured their king; as such they may rest assured, that I shall always consider their affections as my dearest reward and greatest glory.

DIALOGUE

Between the English and French Telegraphs.

English Tel.

DURING the late war, you know yourself that I hadn't a moment to spare; Lord Nelson, and the rest of our gallant tars, kept me so busy in the annunciation of one victory after another, that I couldn't speak a word with you.

French Tel. Fame has just almost repeated your words with respect to herself; she says, that she couldn't lay her trump down for a moment; wherever the British flag streamed by sea or land, victory

victory seemed delighted to perch on it, from the frozen bosom of the North to the mystic shores of Egypt. On these occasions, perhaps you think I enjoyed a little respite:—not at all; I was obliged to say something—I was obliged to resort to the old mintage, lies; the Moniteur, or Bonaparte's Gazette, as it is called, sometimes came to my assistance, and, *in verbis rotundis*, confirmed what I was sentenced to utter.

English Tel. That was Bonaparte's fault. Did you announce his flight from Egypt?

French Tel. Not at all; I left his flight to time, and the affair of the hospital at Jaffa to Sir Robert Wilson. When the peace of Amiens was signed, however, I expected to retire on a pension, to be raised to some post in the legion of honour, or at least to be appointed president of Bonaparte's dumb senate.—What did you expect?

English Tel. To remain at my post. It was easy to see that the treaty of Amiens was not even dictated in the spirit of peace, and that Europe would in vain look for repose. The ambition of Bonaparte, you know, is boundless; the salamander exists only in fire, and the genius of destruction in a storm.

French Tel. Your ministers should have known this at the time.

English Tel. We are told of the great men of some

some nation, who, when called on to transact any important business, take out their eyes, and put on their spectacles; and when the deed is done, they take off their spectacles, and put in their eyes again. However, we trust to God and our navy.

French Tel. Oh, the French navy!

English Tel. Her lofty bark diminished to a cock, her cock to a buoy.

French Tel. And the Dutch navy along with it.

English Tel. Yes, the Dutch are caught in their own net.

> Oh, souls in whom no heavenly spark is found,
> *Fat* minds, and ever grov'ling on the ground.

French Tel. But Bonaparte took them under his protection.

English Tel. And they have paid for it.

French Tel. And I am told your nation intends to take their colonies under your protection.

English Tel. Yes, and St. Domingo into the bargain.

French Tel. What! Bonaparte's favourite churchyard? Well, he has one consolation, he has a very good map of that island, and he has disposed of some of his friends in it. He'll find employment enough at home. He has strengthened himself, to be sure.

English Tel. But the gilded pinnacles of state are very slippery.

French Tel. He has pocketed, it is true, the tongues of the French, the pens of the French, their hopes of liberty, trade, and future——

English Tel. He must have a deeppocket.

French Tel. A bottomless one. Something must be found out to amuse the French.

English Tel. The journey to Brussels.

French Tel. Yes; I suppose I shall be called the Brussels Gazette on that occasion; I must announce his arrival at every inn on the way. The road, of course, must be strewed with addresses, flattery running over the margin: I think I see all Brussels in a blaze; the tallow-chandlers will melt with joy to think of the myriads of tapers which will be consumed on the first night of the *joyeuse entrée* of the Chief Consul. Then comes Madame Bonaparte: what a string of hairdressers, perfumers, milliners, &c. in her train! and ye fops, that lead ambrosial lives, what a fine opportunity of whispering soft nonsense in the half-averted ear of the fairest of her maids of honour! What a time I shall have of it!

English Tel. Excuse me—I am just called to announce the capture of some French vessels.

French Tel. Dreadful news! I think I see the Chief Consul; what a rage! madness but meanly represents his toil: what a volcano of passion! the lava runs on every side: Talleyrand dare not approach him.——

GAMING.

Mr. Justice ASHHURST's *Charge to the Grand Jury for the County of Middlesex, Feb.* 1, 1792.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY,

I HAVE had repeated experience of your abilities and readiness to discharge every part of your duty; and I should not have solicited your attention touching the importance of the service in which you are about to engage, were it not for one evil that is daily increasing; and if any thing can be done to restrain the progress of it, it would be doing a most essential service to the public. The evil that I mean is that of excessive gambling, and the great number of houses that are kept on foot for that destructive vice.

This evil is not confined to those that are guilty; but what is to be lamented, it also extends to their innocent families, as we see by daily experience. It is a practice which extinguishes every generous principle in the minds of those who are addicted to it; for certainly nothing can be more ungenerous, more unfeeling, and more immoral, than for a number of persons to meet under the semblance of friendly intercourse, and to use their utmost endeavours to reduce each other, as well as their families, to beggary and

ruin. This practice estranges those who are guilty of it from the society of their own families, which ought to be the seat of domestic happiness, in order to enjoy the *precious* pleasure which arises from the chance of cards. It seems strange that men can barter their real happiness for so unsubstantial a gratification.

Gentlemen, the habit of excess and ebriety, though a practice very disgraceful to a rational being, is still in its consequences a less destructive crime; for, though the individual is likely to put an end to his own existence, that is, perhaps, but a small loss, and he may make room for a worthy successor; but a man who has fallen into the habits of gaming, probably will leave behind him no other legacy to his children but poverty and want, and the painful remembrance of their father's vices and folly; and whatever virtues his descendants may possess, they are left without the opportunity of bringing themselves into the world, and without that improvement of knowledge and education, which might enable them to be useful and ornamental to their country.

Gentlemen, his Majesty, from that parental regard and affection which he has for all his subjects, in his royal proclamation, discovered great anxiety to discountenance and punish all kinds of immorality; and particularly recommended

to

to all those who were connected with the magistracy of the kingdom, to be vigilant and active to discover, and effectually prosecute, all kinds of vice and immorality, and particularly the suppression of all kinds of gaming-houses. I wish his Majesty's gracious proclamation had been attended to with that regard which it deserves; but I am sorry to say, that even in that part of the metropolis which is nearest to the royal residence, there are more gaming-houses than in any other quarter, as if the design was to set at nought his Majesty's paternal and gracious intentions.

Gentlemen, the legislature has long been sensible of the evil tendency of this pernicious vice; accordingly, we find, that even so long ago as Henry VIII. laws have been enacted to discountenance and punish this vice (see 33 Henry VIII. 9 Ann, and 8 George II.). These are the principal acts of parliament that have been made on this subject. Now, Gentlemen, to be sure the law in this case, if it were put in strict execution, might be sufficient to check this growing evil; but I am aware, that it can only be expected from a grand jury, to present such things as shall be brought forward to their knowledge. But I hope the persons who are possessed of that knowledge, will have public virtue enough to bring it before you, and stand forth to prosecute: such will merit the warmest thanks of their country.

At all events, such as are intrusted with the office of magistrates, ought to attend to his Majesty's proclamation, to be strict and vigilant, and to refuse to grant licenses to any of these houses, when they have reason to suspect any such practices are carried on; and, although we should not be able to do so much as we could wish, we should do all we can to awaken in the public a just sense of the mischievous consequences of this vice. I have great reason to hope your interposition will produce a good effect.

NATURAL PRODIGY.

An Account of THOMAS WILLIAMS MALKIN, *a Child of extraordinary Attainments, who lately died at Hackney, in America, at the Age of six Years and nine Months.*

THE bare mention of the death of so young a person would, in an ordinary case, be deemed sufficient; but we cannot pass over a circumstance which equally arrests the attention of the moralist, and the sympathy of the philanthropist, without observing how suddenly and unexpectedly the brightest prospects vanish, which depend on the precarious tenure of human life, however bright and promising the dawn of intellect,

fellect, however encouraging the appearances of corporeal stability. With respect to the uncommon child whose early fate we have to lament, the extent of his attainments may excite surprise, and possibly in some minds doubt. Yet we have well-authenticated accounts of juvenile proficiency; and in the present instance there are many and most respectable witnesses to attest, that amiable dispositions and superior talents were never united in a more distinguished manner than in the subject of this biographical sketch. His knowledge of the English language was correct and copious; and his expression, whether in speaking or writing, remarkable as well for fertility as selection. In the Latin he had proceeded so far, as to read with ease the more popular parts of Cicero's works. He had made some progress in French; and was so thorough a proficient in geography, as not only to be able, when questioned, to particularize the situation of the principal countries, cities, rivers, &c. but to draw maps from memory, with a neatness and accuracy which could scarcely be credited but by those who are in possession of the specimens. Without any professional assistance, he had acquired considerable execution in the art of drawing,; and some of his copies from Raphael's heads, though wanting the precision of the academy students, evinced a fellow-

feeling with the style and sentiment of the originals, which seemed likely, had he pursued it, to have ranked him with the more eminent professors of the art.

But the most striking feature in his character was a strength of intellect, and rapidity of comprehension on all subjects, independent of those to which his studies were immediately directed, which, increasing with his growth, seemed likely in manhood to have placed more within his reach than usually falls to the lot of humanity to grasp at. He united, in a remarkable manner, the solid and the brilliant; for the powers of his memory kept pace with those of his understanding and imagination; and the character of his mind may be comprized in these few but comprehensive words—that he remembered whatever he had once known, and could do whatever he he had once seen done.

But it may not be uninteresting to particularize the periods of his short life, at which the leading traits of his character first presented themselves to observation. He was familiar with the alphabet long before he could speak, as exhibited on counters, a practice very judicious, because very enticing to children, and as expressed in books, to which, from seeing them constantly about him, he shewed an early partiality. At the age of three years, on his birthday, he wrote

wrote his first letter to his mother; and though it contained nothing but short expressions of affection, he soon afterwards began to write in a style and on subjects to which childhood in general is a total stranger; and this practice of writing his sentiments on all subjects, he persevered in with a continually increasing expansion and improvement, both as to matter and manner, which we regret that our limits will not allow us to authenticate by specimens. At the time of which we are speaking, three years old, he could not only read and spell with unfailing accuracy, but knew the Greek characters, and would have attempted the language, had not the caution of his parents, in this instance, discouraged the forwardness of his inclination. When he was five, he had made considerable advances in Latin, as well as in all the other studies, which he pursued so successively for nearly two years longer. His study of Latin, in particular, was far removed from that mechanical routine, by which scholars of more advanced age too frequently proceed. His comparison of the idiom and construction with those of his own and the French language, his acuteness in tracing the etymology, and detecting the component parts of words, hunting them through English and French, and inquiring the forms they assumed in Greek and Italian, with which he was acquainted, proved him to

have possessed a mind peculiarly calculated for philological inquiries. Nor was his attention confined to words; he never passed over any passage, the style or subject of which was obscure or difficult, without such an explanation as satisfied his doubts: nor did he ever suffer errors of the press, even the trifling ones of punctuation, to escape, without detecting and correcting them with a pencil he kept for the purpose. Notwithstanding these studious inclinations, he was a child of manly corporeal structure, of unusual liveliness and activity. He was by no means grave in his disposition, except in the pursuit of knowledge, from which, however, active sports were generally successfulin detaching him; but the bane of all improvement, both of mind and body, indolence, and the habit of lounging, were totally excluded from the catalogue of his pleasures.

But as mere description, unassisted by anecdote, seldom conveys a lively and accurate idea of character; it will not, we hope, be thought impertinent to mention an observation or two, which may serve to illustrate the turn of his mind. On being told by a lady that she would send for him the following day, when he should draw as much as he pleased, he said, "I wish to-morrow would come directly." After a short pause, he added, "Where can to-morrow be now?

now? it must be somewhere; for every thing is in some place." After a little further reflection, he said, "Perhaps, to-morrow is in the sun." On meeting with the following aphorism; "Learning is not so much esteemed by wise men, as it is despised by fools;" he said, "I think the person who wrote that sentence was himself very foolish; for wise men esteem learning as much as possible, and fools cannot despise it more."

But the most singular instance in which he displayed fertility of imagination, united with the power of making every thing he met with in books and conversation his own, was his invention of an imaginary country called Allestone, of which he considered himself as king. It resembled Utopia, though he had never heard of that celebrated political romance. Of this country he wrote the history, and drew a most curious and ingenious map, giving names of his own invention to the principal cities, rivers, mountains, &c.; and as learning was always the object of his highest respect, he endowed it most liberally with universities, to which he appointed professors by name, with numerous statutes and regulations, which would have reflected no disgrace on graver founders.

But though in the progress of his short life he was continually employed in laying up stores of

knowledge, apparently for purposes which, the event proved, were never to be fulfilled; his last illness, which he supported with a patience and fortitude almost unexampled, amply evinced that he knew how to apply the treasures he had acquired to the solace and relief of his own mind, under circumstances of trial and suffering. He frequently beguiled the tedious hours of a sick-bed with the recollections of what he had read, seen, or done, in the days of health; and little points of interest or information, which might have been supposed to have made a transient impression, were as much present to his mind as when they first engaged his attention. When a blister was applied to his stomach, he observed, that, from the appearance of it, he supposed it corresponded with what he had seen called a cataplasm; and one day, when he was at the worst, he desired to know the meaning of the phrase, "a still-born child," which he had once seen in an inscription on a tomb-stone, though he said the inscription itself was too poor to be worth remembering. He often talked of the period of his recovery, but never with impatience; and the triumph of mind over body continued so complete to the last, that he looked with interest and pleasure at his dissected maps within half an hour of his dissolution. Without entering with

unnecessary

unnecessary minuteness into the nature of his disorder, it will be interesting to parents in general to be informed, that it afforded no confirmation of the common idea, that early expansion of intellect is unfavourable to the continuance of life. In consequence of the remarkable form of his head, which had been much admired, especially by artists, some doubts had been suggested, that rendered it desirable to have the head as well as the body examined. From the result of this investigation it appeared, that the brain was unusually large, and in the most perfect and healthy state; and there was more than ordinary probability, from the vigour of his constitution, and the well-proportioned formation of his body, of his arriving at manhood, but for one of those accidents in the system, to which the old and young, the healthy and infirm, are equally exposed.

His illness lasted from the first to the thirty-first of July; a period which, under such severe sufferings, none but a naturally strong patient could have reached. On the morning of the thirty-first, his medical friends, Dr. Lister and Mr. Toulmin, saw him, and conversed with him, as he with them, after their usual manner; and though they had given little or no encouragement for many days, they did not on their last visit (such was the collected state of his mind,

and strength of his spirits) apprehend his dissolution to be so near. Soon after eleven o'clock he appeared much exhausted; his breathing became very difficult; his voice, which through his illness had been strong and clear, began to falter. Still, however, he was firm and composed, without the slightest appearance of dissatisfaction or alarm; he talked at intervals with the most perfect consistency, with his accustomed powers, and usual kindness for those about him, till he could no longer utter a sound. In a few minutes after he had ceased to articulate, and a little before twelve o'clock, he sunk without a struggle or a groan, exciting more admiration under circumstances from which human nature is apt to revolt, than when in the full career of mental and bodily improvement.

Thus ends this short history of a child, whose mind, though his years were few, seemed to have arrived at maturity. His powers of understanding, of memory, of imagination, were all remarkable, and the reasonableness of his mind was such, that he always yielded his own to the wishes of his friends, as much from conviction as compliance. His dispositions were as generous and amiable, as his talents were brilliant and universal; and there can be little doubt, that in after-life, whether he had devoted the powers of his mind to the fine arts, to belles-lettres, or to the severer

severer studies, his success would have been pre-eminent, and would have placed him in the estimation of the wise, whatever might be his external condition, high in the catalogue of worthy and useful members of society.

REGICIDES.

A History of three of the Judges of King Charles I.—*Major general* WHALLEY, *Major-general* GOFFE, *and Colonel* DIXWELL, *who, at the Restoration, fled to America, and were secreted in Massachusets and Connecticut for near thirty Years. By* EZRA STILES, S.T.D. L.L.D. *President of Yale College, America.* (Abridged.)

OF about one hundred and thirty judges appointed in the original commission, for the trial of King Charles I. only seventy-four sat, and of those, sixty-seven were present at the last session, and were unanimous in passing the definitive sentence upon his Majesty; and fifty-nine signed the warrant for his execution, 1649; of these fifty-nine, about one third, or twenty-four, were dead at the Restoration, 1660; twenty-seven persons,

persons, judges and others, were then taken, tried, and condemned; some of whom were pardoned, and nine of the judges, and five others, as accomplices, were executed. Only sixteen judges fled, and finally escaped; three of whom, Major-general Edward Whalley, Major-general William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell, fled, and secreted themselves in New-England, and died there.

GENERAL WHALLEY.

"The Whalleys are of great antiquity," says the Rev. Mark Noble, in his Memoirs of the Family of Cromwell. "The General descended from the family of Whalley, which figured in England in the reign of Henry VI. Richard Whalley, Esq. of Kirkton, in the county of Nottingham, was a man of great opulence, a member of parliament for Scarborough, 1st of Edward VI.: he died 1583, aged 84. His eldest son and heir, Thomas Whalley, Esq. by his wife Elizabeth, had several children, and among others, first, Richard, who married the Protector Oliver Cromwell's aunt; second, Walter Whalley, D.D. educated at Pembroke Hall; third, Thomas, educated in Trinity College, both of Cambridge. Richard Whalley, uncle to the Protector, succeeded his grandfather, of his name: he was a member

member of parliament 43 Elizabeth. He had three wives; his second was Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, Hinchinbrooke, Knight, grandfather of the Protector Oliver. He had issue only by the second, the Protector's aunt, who were, Thomas Edward, of whom I am now about to write, and Henry, the Judge Advocate.

"Edward Whalley, the judge, being a second son, was brought up to merchandise. No sooner did the unhappy contest between King Charles and his Parliament break out, than he appeared on the part of the latter, in direct opposition to the political sentiments of his nearest relations. He early distinguished himself in the Parliament service, in many sieges and battles, but in none more than in the battle of Nazeby, in 1645, in which he defeated two divisions of Langdale's horse, though supported by that gallant leader Prince Rupert, for which Parliament, January 21, 1645-6, voted him to be a Colonel of horse; and, May 9, the following year, they voted him the thanks of the House, and 100*l.* to purchase two horses, for his conduct at Banbury, which he took by storm, and afterwards marched to Worcester, which city surrendered to him July 23 following."

February 3, 1647, the Commons granted him for his arrears, at the rate of fifteen years' purchase, the manor of Flawborough, part of the estate

estate of the Marquis of Newcastle, the annual rent of which was 400*l.** This was redeeming part of his father's estate, purchased by the Marquis, as it is said, for a small part of its value.

At the battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, he, with Monk, commanded the foot, and greatly contributed to complete the defeat of the Scotch army. "Cromwell left him in Scotland with the rank of Commissary General, and gave him the command of four regiments of horse, with which he performed many actions that gained him great honour."

The Protector intrusted him with the government of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester, under the title of *Major-general.* He was one of the representatives for Nottinghamshire, in the parliament which sat in 1654 and 1656; he was also nominated Commissary-general for Scotland, and afterwards called by his cousin Oliver to his upper House.

"He was looked upon with great jealousy by Parliament after the resignation of Richard the Protector, especially as he leaned so much to the interests of the army. For this reason they deprived him of his commission. This still endeared him the more to the army, who, when Monk's conduct began to be problematical, de-

* Noble, Vol. I. p. 179.

puted

puted him one of their commissioners to agree to terms of peace and amity with those of Scotland, but Monk absolutely refused to treat with him."

"The restoration of monarchy soon after becoming visible, he saw the danger of his situation; he therefore consulted his safety in retirement. September 22, 1660, a proclamation was published, setting forth that he had left the kingdom; but as there was great reason to suppose he had returned, 100*l.* was offered to any one who would discover him in any of the British dominions, and cause him to be brought in alive, or dead, if he made any resistance. Colonel Goffe was included in this proclamation *."

GENERAL GOFFE.

WILLIAM Goffe, Esq. was a son of the Rev. Stephen Goffe, a Puritan divine, rector of Stanmer, in Sussex. He lived with Mr. Vaughan, a dry-salter in London, a great partisan of the Parliament, and a zealous presbyterian. Disliking trade, and the war opening, he repaired to the Parliament army, where his merit raised him to be a Quarter-master, and then a Colonel of foot, and afterwards a General. He was a member of parliament, and one of those who took up the accusation against the eleven members, and who sentenced the King, and signed the warrant

* Noble, Vol. I. p. 184

for

for his execution. He rendered the Protector great service, for which he received Lambert's post of Major-general of foot. He was returned for Great Yarmouth in the parliament of 1654; and for the county of Southampton in 1656; last of all, he was called up into the Protector's House of Lords. He was grateful to the Cromwell interest, and signed the order for proclaiming the Protector Richard. This attachment made him to be regarded by the Parliament, as well as army, with jealousy, after they began to be disposed to a return of monarchy; and Monk, who knew he was an enemy to the King's return, refused to admit him to treat with him, though sent by the English army. At the Restoration, he left the kingdom with Whalley, whose daughter he married, and came with him to Boston, in New-England, 1660.

There happened a remarkable diversity of religious sentiments in the family of Goffe. The father, the Rev. Stephen Goffe, was a serious, pious, and learned Puritan divine, and paid great attention to the education of his children. He gave an university education to two of his sons, John and Stephen; and although his son William was not liberally or academically educated, yet such were his abilities, and so well were they cultivated and improved by reading, observation, and converse with scientific subjects, and

and the great variety of literary life, that the university of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In religion and piety he was very similar to his father-in-law Whalley: indeed, both Goffe and Whalley were exactly of the same religious sentiments with that eminent Puritan divine, Dr. Owen, Vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, who was a Congregationalist. The pædobaptist part of the dissenting interest in England was unhappily divided into Presbyterians and Congregationalists, both unanimously agreeing in doctrines, and differing only on forms of church government, and yet generally very amicably differing, as knowing they were harmoniously agreed in all the great, essential, and most important things in religion. If any thing, the Independents, or Congregationalists, were then the most catholic and fraternal of the two. Oliver Cromwell and these two regicides were Congregationalists. While General Goffe's father was a Puritan, his brother John was a clergyman of the established church; his brother Stephen became agent for Charles II. in France, Flanders, and Holland, turned Roman Catholic, and became a priest among the Oratorians in Paris, and afterwards a chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria; while William himself was the pious Congregational Puritan, exactly

agreeing in religious sentiments with the first settlers of Boston and New-Haven.

I subjoin some extracts from the *Fasti Oxonienses*, page 79:

"May 19, Colonel William Goffe was then also presented by Zanchy, and created Master of Arts. He was the son of Stephen Goffe, Rector of Stanmer in Sussex, and younger brother to John Goffe, mentioned among the writers anno 1661, and to Stephen Goffe, mentioned in the Fasti, anno 1636. While this William was a youth, and averse to all kind of learning, he was bound an apprentice to one Vaughan, a salter in London, brother to Colonel Joseph Vaughan, a parliamentarian, and a zealous Presbyterian, whose time being near, or newly out, he betook himself to be a soldier for the righteous cause, instead of setting up his trade, went out a quatermaster of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he had fought for. At length, through several military grades, he became a colonel, a frequent prayer-maker, preacher, and presser for righteousness and freedom, which, in outward show, was expressed very zealously, and therefore in high esteem in the Parliament army. In 1648, he was one of the judges of King Charles I. sat in judgment when he was brought before the High Court of Justice, stood

up

up as consenting, when sentence passed upon him for his decollation, and afterwards set his hand and seal to the warrant for his execution. Afterwards having, like his General (Cromwell), an evil tincture of that spirit that loved and sought after the favour and praise of man more than that of God, as by woful experience in both of them it did afterwards appear, he could not further believe or persevere upon that account, by degrees fell off from the antimonarchical principles of the chief part of the army, and was the man, with Colonel William White, who brought musketeers, and turned out the Anabaptistical members that were left behind, of the *Little*, or *Barbone*'s Parliament, out of the House, anno 1654. Complying thus kindly with the design and interest of the said General, he was by him, when made Protector, constituted Major-general of Hampshire, Sussex, and Berks, a place of great profit, andafter wards was of one, if not of two parliaments; did advance his interest greatly, and was in so great esteem and favour in Oliver's court, that he was judged the only fit man to have Major-general John Lambert's place and command, as Major-general of the army of foot, and by some, to have the protectorship settled on him in future time. He being thus made so considerable a person, was taken out of the House to be a Lord, and to

have negative voice in the other House, and the rather, for this reason, that he never, in all his life (as he used to say) fought against any such thing as a single person, or a negative voice, but only to pull down Charles and set up Oliver, &c. in which he obtained his end. In 1660, a little before the restoration of King Charles II. he took himself to his heels to save his neck, without any regard had to his Majesty's proclamation, wandered about, fearing every one, that every one he met should slay him; and was living at Lausanna in 1664, with Edmond Ludlow, Edward Whalley, and other regicides, when John Lisle, another of that number, was there by certain generous loyalists dispatched. He afterwards lived several years in vagabondship; but when he died, or where his carcass was lodged, is as yet unknown to me."

Thus we have given a summary account of General Whalley and General Goffe, antecedent to their coming over to New-England.

The most authentic account of the first eleven months of their public appearance after their arrival at Boston, is taken from Goffe's journal, or diary, for seven years from their departure from London, 1660 to 1667. It consisted of several pocket volumes in Goffe's own hand-writing; received from the Russel family, and preserved in Dr. Cotton Mather's library, in Boston. The Doctor's

Doctor's only son, Dr. Samuel Mather, married Governor Hutchinson's sister, by which means the Governor obtained Goffe's manuscript, and himself shewed me, in 1766, one of these little manuscript books in Goffe's own hand: it consisted of 55 leaves, or 110 pages, in small 12mo.; it began the first month of the year 1662, and was a diary of one whole year, and a little more. It was written in characters, though not altogether in short-hand, being a mixture of inverted alphabet and characters easily decyphered; and contained news from Europe, and private occurrences with them at New-Haven and Milford. From this I then made some extracts: Mr. Hutchinson, from this and the other volumes, as well as from their manuscript letters, sundry original copies of which he shewed me, formed the summary abstract, which he published as a marginal note in the first volume of his History of Massachusetts, page 215, first printed 1764. This may be depended upon as genuine information, and is as follows.

Governor Hutchinson's Account of Whalley and Goffe.

"In the ship * which arrived at Boston, from London, the 27th of July 1660, there came passengers, Colonel Whalley, and Colonel Goffe,

* Captain Pierce.

two of the late King's judges. Colonel Goffe brought testimonials from Mr. John Row and Mr. Seth Wood, two ministers of a church in Weſtminſter. Colonel Whalley had been a member of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's church. Goffe kept a journal, or diary, from the day he left Weſtminſter, May 4, until the year 1667; which, together with several other papers belonging to him, I have in my possession; almost the whole is in characters, or short-hand, not difficult to decypher. The story of these persons has never yet been published to the world: it has never been known in New-England. Their papers, after their death, were collected, and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boston: it must give some entertainment to the curious. They left London before the King was proclaimed: it does not appear that they were among the most obnoxious of the judges; but as it was expected vengeance would be taken of some of them, and a great many had fled, they did not think it safe to remain. They did not attempt to conceal their persons or characters when they arrived at Boston, but immediately went to the Governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteously. They were visited by the principal persons of the town; and among others, they take notice of Colonel Crown's coming to see them. He was a noted

royalist. Although they did not disguise themselves, yet they chose to reside at Cambridge, a village about four miles distant from the town, where they went the first day they arrived. They went publicly to meetings on the Lord's day, and to occasional lectures, fasts, and thanksgivings, and were admitted to the sacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion, visited many of the principal towns, and were frequently at Boston; and once, when insulted there, the person who insulted them was bound to his good behaviour. They appeared grave, serious, and devout; and the rank they had sustained commanded respect. Whalley had been one of Cromwell's Lieutenant-generals, and Goffe a Major-general. It is not strange that they should meet with this favourable reception, nor was this reception any contempt of the authority in England: they were known to have been two of the King's judges; but Charles II. was not proclaimed, when the ship that brought them left London: they had the news of it in the Channel. The reports afterwards, by way of Barbadoes, were, that all the judges would be pardoned but seven. The act of indemnity was not brought over till the last of November, when it appeared that they were not excepted. Some of the principal persons in the government were alarmed; pity and compassion prevailed with others; they had assurances from

some that belonged to the general court, that they would stand by them, but were advised by others to think of removing. The 22d of February 1661, the government summoned a court of assistants to consult about securing them, but the court did not agree to it. Finding it unsafe to remain any longer, they left Cambridge the 26th following, and arrived at New-Haven the 7th of March 1661. One Captain Breedan, who had seen them at Boston, gave information thereof upon his arrival in England. A few days after their removal, a hue and cry, as they term it in their diary, was brought by the way of Barbadoes, and thereupon a warrant to secure them issued, the 8th of March, from the Governor and assistants, which was sent to Springfield, and other towns in the western parts of the colony, but they were beyond the reach of it."

The Governor adds in a long marginal note, "They were well treated at New-Haven by the ministers * and some of the magistrates, and for some days seemed to apprehend themselves out of danger; but the news of the King's proclamation being brought to New-Haven, they were obliged to abscond. The 27th of March, they removed to New-Milford, and appeared there in the day-time, and made themselves known; but at night returned privately to New-Haven, and

* Rev. John Davenport, and Rev. Nicholas Street.

lay concealed in Mr. Davenport's, the minister's house, until the 30th of April. About this time came news to Boston, that ten of the judges were executed, and the Governor received a royal mandate, dated March 5, 16 0, to cause Whalley and Goffe to be secured. This greatly alarmed the country, and there is no doubt that the court were now in earnest in their endeavours to apprehend them; and to avoid all suspicion, they gave commission and instruction to two young merchants from England, Thomas Kellond, and Thomas Kirk, zealous royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as Manhados, in search of them. They had friends who informed them what was doing, and they removed from Mr. Davenport's to the house of one Jones*, where they lay hid till the 11th of May, and then removed to a mill, and from thence, on the 13th, into the woods, where they met Jones and two of his companions, Sperry and Burril, who first conducted them to a place called Hatchet-Harbour, where they lay two nights, until a cave or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence Hill, and there they continued from the 15th of May to the 11th of June, sometimes in the cave, and in very tempestuous weather, in a house near

* William Jones, Esq. afterwards Deputy-governor of Connecticut.

to

to it. During this time, the messengers went through New-Haven to the Dutch settlements, from whence they returned to Boston by water. They made diligent search, and had full proof that the regicides had been seen at Mr. Davenport's, and offered great rewards to English and Indians who should give information, that they might be taken: but by the fidelity of their three friends, they remained undiscovered. Mr. Davenport was threatened with being brought to an account for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed: they had engaged to surrender, rather than the country, or any particular person, should suffer on their account; and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generously resolved to go to New-Haven, and deliver themselves up to the authority there. The miseries they had suffered, and were still exposed to, and the little chance they had of finally escaping, in a country where every stranger is immediately known to be such, would not have been sufficient to have induced them. They let the Deputy-governor, Mr. Leete, know where they were, but he took no measure to secure them; and the next day some persons came to advise them not to surrender. Having publicly shewn themselves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them, and the 24th of June went

went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, sometimes venturing to a house near the cave, until the 19th of August, when the search for them being pretty well over, they ventured to the house of one Tomkins, near Milford meeting-house, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themselves known to several persons in whom they could confide, and each of them frequently prayed, and also exercised, as they termed it, or preached at private meetings in their chamber. In 1664, the commissioners from King Charles arrived at Boston: upon the news of it, they retired to their cave, where they tarried eight or ten days. Soon after, some Indians, in their hunting, discovered the cave with the bed, and the report being spread abroad, it was not safe to remain near it. On the 13th of October 1664, they removed to Hadley, near an hundred miles distant, travelling only by night, where Mr. Russel, the minister of the place, had previously agreed to receive them. Here they remained concealed for fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in the colony being privy to it. The last account of Goffe is from a letter, dated Ebenezer, the name they gave their several places of abode, April 2, 1679. Whalley had been dead some time before. The tradition at Hadley is, that

that two persons, unknown, were buried in the minister's cellar. The minister was no sufferer by his boarders; they received more or less remittances every year, for many years together, from their wives in England. Those few persons who knew where they were, made them frequent presents. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. who was in the secret, when he left the country and went to England in 1672, made them a present of fifty pounds at his departure; and they take notice of donations from several other friends. They were in constant terror, though they had reason to hope, after some years, that the inquiry for them was over. They read with pleasure, the news of their being killed, with other judges, in Switzerland. Their diary for six or seven years contains every little occurrence in the town, church, and particular families, in the neighbourhood. They had, indeed, for five years of their lives, been among the principal actors in the great affairs of the nation; Goffe especially, who turned the members of the little Parliament out of the house, and who was attached to Oliver and to Richard to the last; but they were both of low birth and education. They had very constant and exact intelligence of every thing which passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfil-

ment

ment of the prophecies: they had no doubt that the execution of the judges was the flaying of the witnesses. They were much disappointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but flattered themselves that the Christian æra might be erroneous. Their lives were miserable and constant burdens: they complain of being banished from all human society. A letter from Goffe's wife, who was Whalley's daughter, I think worth preserving. After the second year, Goffe writes by the name of Walter Goldsmith, and she of Frances Goldsmith, and the correspondence is carried on as between a mother and son. There is too much religion in their letters for the taste of the present day; but the distresses of two persons, under these peculiar circumstances, who appeared to have lived very happily together, are very strongly described.

Whilst they were at Hadley, Feb. 10, 1664-5, Dixwell, another of the judges, came to them; but from whence, or in what part of America he first landed, is not known. The first mention of him in their journal is by the name of Colonel Dixwell; but ever after they call him Mr. Davids. He continued some years at Hadley, and then removed to New-Haven. He was generally supposed to be one of those who were obnoxious in England; but he never discovered who he was, until he was on his death-bed. I have

have one of his letters, signed "James Davids, dated March 23, 1683." He married at New-Haven, and left several children. After his death, his son, who before had been called Davids, took the name of Dixwell, came to Boston, and lived in good repute; was a ruling elder of one of the churches there, and died in 1725, of the small-pox by inoculation. Some of his grandchildren are now living. Colonel Dixwell was buried in New-Haven: his gravestone still remains with this inscription: "J. D. Esq. deceased March 18, in the 82d year of his age, 1688."

"It cannot be denied," continues the Governor, "that many of the principal persons in the colony greatly esteemed those persons for their professions of piety, and their grave deportment, who did not approve of their political conduct. Mr. Mitchel, the minister of Cambridge, who shewed them great friendship upon their first arrival, says, in a manuscript which he wrote in his own vindication, 'Since I have had 'an opportunity, by reading and discourse, to 'look a little into that action for which these 'men suffer, I could never see that it was justi-'fiable.' After they were declared traitors, they certainly would have been sent to England, if they could have been taken. It was generally thought, that they had left the country, and even the

the consequence of their escape was dreaded, lest when they were taken, those who had harboured them would suffer for it. Mr. Endicot, the Governor, writes to the Earl of Manchester, that he supposes they went towards the Dutch at Manhados, and took shipping for Holland; and Mr. Bradstreet, then Governor, in December 1684, writes to Edward Randolph, 'that after 'their being at New-Haven, he could never hear 'what became of them.' Randolph, who was sent to search into the secrets of the government, could obtain no more knowledge of them, than that they had been in the country, and respect had been shewn them by some of the magistrates. I am loth to omit an anecdote handed down through Governor Leverett's family. I find Goffe takes notice, in his journal, of Leverett's being at Hadley. The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians, in 1675, in the time of public wors ip, and the people were in the utmost confusion: suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them: in his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people; he not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who, by this means, were repulsed: as suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable

unable to account for this strange phenomenon. It is not probable they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons, who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him *."

Thus far Governor Hutchinson. To these extracts I shall now add another from the same indisputable authority.

"In 1664, four commissioners were appointed by the King, viz. Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, Esq. Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esq. After the reduction of Manhados, they returned to Boston, exhibited a number of articles to the general assembly of Massachusetts, on which they were charged by the King to make inquiry, and to which the assembly, in May 1665, make their answers. In answer to the tenth instruction, they say, that they knew of no persons attainted of high treason, who had arrived here, except Mr. Whalley and Mr. Goffe, and they before the act of parliament, and they departed this jurisdiction the February following, and a proclamation against them coming soon after by way of Barbadoes, the court sent two gentlemen, Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirk, after them to Connecticut and New-Haven, to apprehend them †."

* Hutch. Hist. Mass. vol. i. p. 218. † Ibid. p. 243.

Among

Among the traditionary anecdotes and stories concerning the events which took place at and about the time the pursuers were at New-Haven, are the following:

1. The day they were expected, the regicides walked out towards the Neck bridge, the road the pursuers must enter the town. At some distance, the sheriff, or marshal, who then was Mr. Kimberly, overtook them, with a warrant to apprehend them, and endeavoured to take them; but the regicides stood upon their defence, and placing themselves behind a tree, and being expert at fencing, defended themselves with their cudgels, and repelled the officer, who went back to town to command help, and returned with aid, but found the regicides had escaped, having absconded into the woods, with which the town was then surrounded.

2. That immediately after this, in the same day, the regicides hid themselves under the bridge, one mile from town, and lay there concealed under the bridge, while the pursuivants rode over it, and passed into town; and that the regicides returned that night into town, and lodged at Mr. Jones's. All this, tradition says, was a preconcerted and contrived business, to shew that the magistrates at New-Haven had used their endeavours to apprehend them before the arrival of the pursuers.

3. That on a time when the pursuers were searching the town, the regicides, in shifting their situations, happened, by accident or design, at the house of a Mrs. Eyers, a respectable old lady: she, seeing the pursuivants coming, ushered her guests out at the back door, who, walking out a little way, instantly returned to the house, and were hid and concealed by her in her apartments. The pursuers coming in, inquired whether the regicides were at her house. She answered, they had been there, but were just gone away, and pointed out the way. They went into the fields and woods; and by her artful and polite address she diverted them, put them upon a false scent, and secured her friends. It is rather probable, that this happened the next day after their coming to town, and that they then left the town, having shewn themselves not to be concealed in Mr. Davenport's, and went into the woods, to the mill, two miles off, whither they had retired on the 11th of May.

4. The family of the Sperrys always tell this story: that while the regicides were at the house of their ancestor, Mr. Richard Sperry, they were surprised with an unexpected visit from the pursuers, whom they espied at a distance, coming up a long causeway to the house, lying through a morass, and on each side an impassable swamp, so that they were seen, perhaps, fifty or sixty

rods before they came up to the house; but the regicides escaped into woods and mountains, and eluded their search. This story is current at New-Haven, and is always told, as what took place after the return of the pursuers from New-York, and so was unexpected to Sperry and the regicides. Governor Hutchinson says, the pursuivants returned from Manhados to Boston by water; but the constant tradition at New-Haven is otherwise, and that they were here a second time, and that it was thought they got their information of their being at Sperry's, in consequences of the bribe they had scattered here, at their former visit, among servants.

5. About the time the pursuers came to New-Haven, and, perhaps, a little before, and to prepare the minds of the people for their reception, the Rev. Mr. Davenport preached publicly from this text, Isaiah, xvi. 3, 4. *Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night, in the midst of the noon-day; hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth: let mine outcasts dwell with thee: Moab, be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.* This, doubtless, had its effect, and put the whole town upon their guard, and united them in caution and concealment.

As Kellond and Kirk, besides the royal mandate, received a warrant from Governor Endicott at Boston, to make search through the colony of

Massachusetts; so, passing out of that jurisdiction into the jurisdiction of Connecticut, they obtained a similar one from the Governor, Winthrop, at New-London, and upon entering into the colony of New-Haven, they applied to Governor Leet, at Guildford, for a like warrant, to search this jurisdiction also. They lodged at Guildford May 12, and next day rode eighteen miles, to New-Haven, and might enter the town about noon. The banks of the river at Neck bridge are low, and salt marsh on both sides, so that the bridge is low, being only high enough to avoid high-water, which is here six to eight feet tide; so there could be no hiding under the bridge at high-water. From the astronomical or lunar tables we find, that on the 13th of May 1661, the sun was in the second degree of Gemini, and the moon in the first of Aries, or about sixty degrees apart, and so about two days and a half after the last quarter, when it is always high-water at New-Haven about, or a little after, six o'clock, and low-water about noon; the only time when they could have secreted themselves under the bridge, agreeable to tradition.

6. To shew the dexterity of the regicides at fencing, this story is told: that, while at Boston, there appeared a gallant person there, some say a fencing-master, who, on a stage erected for the purpose, walked it for several days, challenging and

and defying any to play with him at swords. At length one of the regicides, disguised in a rustic dress, holding in one hand a cheese wrapped in a napkin, for a shield, with a broomstick, whose mop he had besmeared with dirty puddle water as he passed along; thus equipped, he mounted the stage; the fencing-master railed at him for his impudence, asked what business he had there, and bid him begone. The regicide stood his ground, upon which the gladiator made a pass at him with his sword, to drive him off; a rencounter ensued: the regicide received the sword into the cheese, and held it till he drew the mop of the broom over his mouth, and gave the gentleman a pair of whiskers. The gentleman made another pass, and plunging his sword a second time, it was caught and held in the cheese, till the broom was drawn over his eyes. At a third lunge, the sword was caught again, till the mop of the broom was rubbed gently all over his face: upon this, the gentleman let fall, or laid aside his small-sword, and took up the broad-sword, and came at him with that; upon which the regicide said, "Stop, Sir; hitherto you see, I have only played with you, and not attempted to hurt you; but if you come at me now with the broad-sword, know that I will certainly take your life." The firmness and determinate-

ness with which he spake, struck the gentleman, who, desisting, exclaimed, "Who can you be? You are either Goffe, Whalley, or the devil, for there was no other man in England that could beat me." And so the disguised regicide retired into obscurity, leaving the spectators to enjoy the diversion of the scene, and the vanquishment of the boasting champion. Hence it is proverbial in some parts of New-England, in speaking of a champion at athletic and other exercises, to say that none can beat him but Goffe, Whalley, or the devil.

I shall now present the reader with a chronological series of events.

March 7, 1660, the regicides arrived at New-Haven, and appeared publicly, having in their way first called upon, and been hospitably received by Governor Winthrop, and been in like manner received by Governor Leet. 27, Went to Milford, as if departing for Manhados or New-York, but returned in the night, and were secreted at Mr. Davenport's till the 30th of April, and at Mr. Jones's till the 11th of May.

April. The King's warrant arrived at Boston, where they had previously, upon seeing the King's proclamation from Barbadoes, in March, made a fictitious search through Massachusetts.

May 11. Removed from Jones's to the mills, two

two miles from town. On the same day, Kellond and Kirk arrived at Governor Leet's with only the copy of the King's order, sent by the Governor of Boston, on which Governor Leet did not act decidedly, yet sent a letter to magistrate Gilbert, with advice of the town deputies, to search and apprehend. The regicides had notice, and left Jones's for the woods, yet designedly appeared twice afterwards, while the pursuivants were in town, first at the bridge, again at Mrs. Eyers's.

13. The pursuivants arrived at New-Haven. The Governor and magistrates convene there the same day, and under great pressure and perplexity, the pursuivants demanding a warrant in the King's name for a general search, which was refused. On this day it is supposed, the singular and extraordinary events happened, partly before the Governor arrived in town, by the marshal's attempting to take the regicides near the bridge, which must have been by a warrant from Mr. Gilbert, though not at first to be found; partly afterwards at Mr. Eyers's. The regicides this day retired and went to Hatchet-Harbour, and thence to the cave prepared by Sperry, and conducted by Jones and Burral. After the pursuivants were gone, and before the session of assembly, a thorough but illusory search was made by order of the magistrates. The pressure was so great

and dangerous, that several declined serving in office the next assembly and town-court.

May 17. The assembly convened speedily in four days after the pursuivants arrived in town, and, perhaps, in two days after their departure; to whom the Governor, stating, that, upon receiving the King's real order, he had issued a warrant, and had caused search to be made, every requisite seemed to have been already done; and so the assembly had nothing further to do in the case.

29. Came on the general election, when the court found no necessity of doing any thing further about the regicides; yet, as the Governor and Mr. Gilbert were in danger, it was concluded that the regicides should surrender, which they stood ready to do.

June 11. The regicides left the cave, and went over to Guildford, to surrender themselves to the Governor; who, though he never saw them, yet lodged them several nights in his stone cellar, and sent them food, or they were fed from his table. Here and at Mr. Rosseter's they spent above a week, while it was deliberated whether the surrendry could or could not be put off, or, at least, deferred. Finally, their friends would not suffer them to surrender at this time, and it was concluded that they should retire again to their concealment; upon which they returned to New-Haven.

June

June 20. They appeared publicly at New-Haven, and though cautiously, yet designedly.

24. They retired into the woods, to their cave, and never more came into open life, or out of concealment; but wandering about, and shifting their several harbours, were some time at Hatchet-Harbour, sometimes at Totoket, sometimes at Paugasset, and at three different places, or lodgments, behind the west rock, until the 19th of August 1661, when they removed and settled in secrecy at Milford for two years. At times, the places of their lodgments were secretly made known to the Governor, to whom they ever stood ready to surrender themselves.

July 4. The Governor and magistrates of Massachusetts colony were very much alarmed for their own safety, as well as for those of New-Haven. They wrote a *fraternal* letter to New-Haven, upon which Governor Leet * convened the general assembly.

August 1. The general court met at New-Haven, and wrote an answer to Boston.

September 5. Declaration of the commissioners of the united colonies, that search had actually been made in all the colonies without success, and enjoining further search and apprehension. This very much damped the warmth of pursuit, and enabled the regicides to consult the best

* Deputy-governor of New-Haven.

means

means of their future safety. The following extracts are taken from the public records:

"At a meeting of the general court for the jurisdiction, May 17, 1661, the Deputy-governor declared to the court the cause of the meeting, viz. that he had received a copy of a letter from his Majesty, with another letter from the Governor of the Massachusetts, for the apprehending of Colonel Whalley and Goffe, which letters he shewed to the court, acquainted them, that forthwith, upon the receipt of them, granted his letters to the magistrates of New-Haven, by the advice and concurrence of the deputies, there to make present and diligent search throughout their town, for the said persons accordingly: which letters the messengers carried, but found not the magistrate at home, and that he himself followed after the messengers, and came into New-Haven soon after them, the 13th May 1661, bringing with him Mr. Crane, magistrate at Branford, who when they were come, sent presently for the magistrates of New-Haven and Milford, and the deputies of New-Haven court. The magistrates thus sent for not being yet come, they advised with the deputies about the matter, and after a short debate with the deputies, was writing a warrant for search of the abovesaid Colonels; but the magistrates before spoken of being come, upon further consideration (the case being weighty),

weighty), it was resolved to call the general court for the effectual carrying on of the work. The Deputy-governor further informed the court, that himself and the magistrates told the messengers, that they were far from hindering the search, and they were sorry that it so fell out, and were resolved to pursue the matter, that an answer should be prepared against their return from the Dutch. The court being met, when they heard the matter declared, and had heard his Majesty's letter, and the letter from the Governor of the Massachusetts, they all declared, that they did not know that they were in the colony, or had been for divers weeks past; and both magistrates and deputies wished a search had been sooner made, and did now order that the magistrates take care and send forth the warrant, that a speedy, diligent search be made throughout the jurisdiction, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands, according to the letters received, and that from the several plantations a return had been made, and that it may be recorded. And whereas there have been rumours of their late being known at New-Haven, it hath been inquired into, and several persons examined, but could find no truth in those reports, and for any that doth appear, are but unjust suspicions and groundless reports against the place, to raise ill surmises and reproaches."—*N. H. Records.*

Copy

Copy of a Report made to Governor Endicott by Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk.

HONOURABLE SIR,

We, according to your Honour's order, departed in search after Colonels Goffe and Whalley (persons declared traitors to his Majesty), from Boston, May 7th, 1661, about six o'clock at night, and arrived at Hartford the tenth day, and repaired to Governor Winthrop, and gave him your Honour's letter, and his Majesty's order for the apprehending of Colonels Whalley and Goffe, who gave us an account that they did not stay there, but went directly for New-Haven, but informed us that one Symon Lobdin guided them to the town. The Honourable Governor carried himself very nobly to us, and was diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniences for the prosecution of them, and promised all diligent search should be made for them in that jurisdiction, which was afterwards performed. The 11th day, we arrived at Guildford, and repaired to the Deputy-governor, William Leet, and delivered him your Honour's letter, and the copy of his Majesty's order for the apprehending of the aforesaid persons, with whom, at that time, were several persons. After the perusal of them, he began to read them audibly, whereupon we

told him, it was more convenient to be more private in such concernment as that was; upon which, withdrawing to a chamber, he said he had not seen the two Colonels not in nine weeks. We acquainted him with the information we had received, that they were at New-Haven since that time he mentioned, and thereupon desired him to furnish us with horses, and which was prepared with some delays, which we took notice of to him; and after our parting with him out of his house, and in the way to the ordinary, came to us one Dennis Scranton, and told us that he would warrant that Colonels Goffe and Whalley, at the time of his speaking, were harboured at the house of one Mr. Davenport, a minister at New-Haven, and that one Goodman Bishop, of the town of Guildford, was able to give us the like account, and that, without all question, Deputy Leet knew as much, and that Mr. Davenport had put in ten pounds-worth of fresh provision at one time into his house, and that it was imagined it was purposely for the entertainment of them. And the said Scranton said further, that Goffe and Whalley should say, that if they had but two hundred friends that would stand by them, they would not care for Old or New England: whereupon we asked if he could depose to that: he replied, he would; that it was openly spoken by them in the head of a company

pany in the field a-training; which words were also confirmed by several others, as also information that Goffe and Whalley were seen very lately between the houses of Mr. Davenport and one Jones, and it was thought that one lay at one of their houses and the other at the other's: upon which we went back to the Deputy's, and required our horses, with aid, and a power to search and apprehend them. Horses were provided for us, but he refused to give us any power to apprehend them, nor order any other, and said he could do nothing until he had spoken with one Mr. Gilbert, and the rest of the magistrates: upon which we told him we should go to New-Haven, and stay till we heard from him, but before we took horse, the aforesaid Dennis Scranton gave us information, there was an Indian of the town wanting, which he told us was to give notice of our coming; but to our certain knowledge, one John Megges was sent on horseback before us, and by his speedy and unexpected going so early before day, was to give them an information, and the rather, because by the delays used, it was break of day before we got to horse, so he got there before us. Upon our suspicion, we required the Deputy that the said John Megges might be examined what his business was that might occasion his so early going; to which the Deputy answered, that he did

did not know any such thing, and refused to examine him; and being at New-Haven, which was the 13th day, the Deputy arrived within two hours, or thereabouts, after us, and came to us to the court-chamber, where we again acquainted him with the information we had received, and that we had cause to believe that they were concealed in New-Haven, and thereupon we required his assistance and aid for their apprehension; to which he answered, that he did not believe they were there; whereupon we desired him to empower us, or order others for it. To which he gave us this answer: that he could not, nor would not, make us magistrates. We replied, we ourselves would personally adventure in search and apprehension of them in two houses where we had reason to imagine they lay hid, if he would give way to it and enable us. To which he replied, he neither would nor could not do any thing till the freemen met together. To which we set before him the danger of that delay, and their inevitable escape, and how much the honour and service of his Majesty was despised and trampled on by him, and that we supposed, by his unwillingness to assist in the apprehension, he was willing they should escape; after which he left us, and went to several of the magistrates, and were together five or six hours in consultation, and upon breaking up of their council,

council, they would not nor could not do any thing until they had called a general court of the freemen: whereupon we represented to them your Honour's and Governor Winthrop's warrants as precedents, who, upon the receipt of his Majesty's pleasure and order concerning the said persons, stood not upon such niceties and formalities, but endeavoured to make all expedition in seizing on them, if to be found in their government, and also how you had recommended this grand affair to him, and how much the honour and justice of his Majesty was concerned, and how ill his sacred Majesty would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abettings of such traitors and regicides as they were, and asked him whether he would honour and obey the King, or no, in this affair, and set before him the danger which by law is incurred by any one that conceals or abets traitors; to which the Deputy Leet answered, "We honour his Majesty, but we have tender consciences."

To which we replied, that we believed that he knew where they were, and only pretended tenderness of conscience for a refusal: upon which they drew into consultation again, and after two or three hours spent in the evening, the Deputy and the magistrates came to us at the head of the stairs in the ordinary, and takes one of us by the hand, and wished he had been a ploughman,

ploughman, and had never been in the office, since he found it so weighty.

To which we told him, that for their respect to two traitors they would do themselves injury, and possibly ruin themselves and the whole colony of New-Haven; and still continuing to press them to their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and whether they would own his Majesty, or no, it was answered, they would first know whether his Majesty would own them.

This was the substance of our proceedings. There were other circumstantial expressions which are too tedious to trouble your Honour withal, and which we have given your Honour a verbal account of, and conceive it needless to insist any further; and so, finding them obstinate and pertinacious in their contempt of his Majesty, we came away the next day in prosecution after them, according to instructions, to the Governor of Manhados, from whom we received civil respects, and a promise, if they were within his jurisdiction, we should command what aid we pleased, for sending of him according to your Honour's request. He could not answer it to his masters at home, but if they came there, he should give your Honour timely notice. Whereupon, we requested his Honour the Governor of Manhados to lay a restraint upon all shipping from transporting them, which he promised

should be done, and also to give order to his fiscal, or chief officer, to make search in all vessels for them that were going thence: upon which we, finding any other means would be ineffectual, made our return hither by sea, to give your Honour an account, and to which, when your Honour shall require it, are ready to depose to the truth of it, and remain,

Sir,

Your Honour's humble servants,

THOMAS KELLOND,
THOMAS KIRK.

Boston, May 29, 1661.

30th May 1661.

Mr. Thomas Kellond and Mr. Thomas Kirk having delivered this paper to the Governor as their return, in answer to what they were employed, deposed before the Governor and magistrates, that what is there expressed is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Per *Edward Rawson*, Secr.

Copy of a Letter from Secretary RAWSON *to* WILLIAM LEET, *Esq. Governor of New-Haven Jurisdiction.*

HONOURED SIR,

The council of our jurisdiction being assembled the 4th instant, at Boston, ordered me

to signify to you what lately they have received from England by Captain Leverett, his letter being dated 12th April 1661, who tells us, however, our address to his Majesty came seasonably, and had a gracious answer, yet many complaints and claims are multiplied against us, and that we are like to hear from his Majesty's committee, what those complaints are, and what is expected from us; that an oath was produced against him for saying, that rather we should or would admit of appeals here, he should or would sell the country to the Spaniards; which, though he absolutely denied that ever he so said, and that if he should have so said he had wronged his country very much. Some of the said committee said, the words, if spoken, they were pardoned; but he looked at the words, not so much his as the spirit of the country; and though he again desired that the country might not suffer in their minds for what he knew was so much and so far from them, as to think aught in any such respect; yet one of them proceeded to question him, whether if we dared we would not cast off our allegiance and subjection to his Majesty. He answered, he did apprehend we were honest men, and had declared in our application to his Majesty the contrary, and therefore could not have such thoughts of us without the breach of charity; that it is no less than neces-

sary we had some able person to appear before us, well furnished to carry on our business, which will not be without money: that the council for plantations demanded of him whether we had proclaimed the King, and whether there was not much opposition to the agreeing of our application. He answered, he knew not, only had heard Captain Bredan say so, but humbly submitted to their consideration, that neither we nor any other were to be concluded by debates, but by our conclusions, which were sent and presented to his Majesty in our names. They took notice from inquiry, that it was only from one colony, namely, Massachusetts, and have their consideration of the other colonies' neglects, to speak most favourably thereof. Thus far as to the letter: further, I am required to signify to you, as from them, that the non-attendance, with diligence to execute the King's warrant, for the apprehending of Colonels Goffe and Whalley, will much hazard the present state of these colonies, and your own particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflictive to them; and that, in their understandings, there remains no way to expiate the offence, and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard, but by apprehending the said persons, who, as we are informed, are yet remaining in the colony, and not above a fortnight since were seen there: all which will be against you. Sir,

your

your own welfare, the welfare of your neighbours, bespeak your unwearied pains to free yourself and neighbours. I shall not add, having so lately, by a few lines from our Governor, and myself looking much this way, communicated our sense and thoughts of your and our troubles, and have as yet received no return, but commend you to God and his grace for your guidance and direction in matter of such moment, as his Majesty may receive full and just satisfaction, the mouths of all opposers stopped, and the profession of the truth that is in you and us may not in the least suffer by our acting, is the prayer of, Sir,

Your assured, loving friend,

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.

In the name and by order of the council.

SIR, *Boston, 4th July* 1661.

Since what I wrote, news and certain intelligence is come hither, of the two Colonels being at New-Haven from Saturday to Monday, and publicly known; and however it is given out that they came to surrender themselves, and pretended by Mr. Gilbert, that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house, nor endeavouring to secure them; but when it

was too late to send to Totoket, &c. Sir, how this will be taken, is not difficult to imagine; to be sure, not well; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends. I am not willing to meddle with your hopes; but if it be a duty to obey such lawful warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir; it is my desire you may regain your peace (and if you please to give me notice when you will send the two Colonels. Though Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence within a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of their coming, I shall not only endeavour, but do hereby engage, to cause his stay a fortnight, nay, three weeks, rather than they should not be sent. Expecting your answer, remain,

Sir,

Your assured, loving friend and servant,

EDWARD RAWSON.

Copy of the Declaration of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, concerning WHALLEY *and* GOFFE.

Whereas it appeareth by his Majesty's order, directed to John Endicott, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts, and to call other governors and magistrates

magistrates in New-England, and by him communicated to the respective Governors of the United Colonies, for the apprehending of Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who stand convicted of high treason, for the horrid-murder of his royal father, as is expressed in the said order, and exempted from pardon by the act of indemnity; in obedience whereunto, diligent search hath been made for the said persons in the several colonies (as we are informed); and whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable, that the said persons may remain hid in some parts of New-England: these are, therefore, seriously to advise and forewarn all persons whatsoever, within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal, or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them; but that, as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make known the same to some of the governors or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time do their utmost endeavour for their apprehending and securing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. And we do hereby further declare, that all such person or persons, that since the publication of his Majesty's order have wittingly or willingly entertained or harboured the aforesaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall do the like, have and will incur his Majesty's highest displeasure, as is

intimated in the said order, and will be accounted enemies to the public peace and welfare of the United Colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

By the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at their meeting at Hartford, Sept. 5, 1661.

JOHN MASON.
SAMUEL WILLIS.
WILLIAM LEET.
THOMAS PRINCE.
SYMOND BRADSTREET.
DANIEL DENISON.
THOMAS SOUTHWORTH.

The King's commissioners *, in their narrative about New-England, 1667, speaking of these regicides, say, "Colonels Whalley and Goffe were entertained by the magistrates with great solemnity, and feasted in every place, after they were told they were traitors, and ought to be apprehended. They made their abode at Cambridge until they were furnished with horses, and a guide sent away to New-Haven. For their more security, Captain Daniel Gookin is reported to have brought over, and to manage their estates; and the commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the King's province, which were supposed to be Whalley's or Goffe's, caused them to be seized

* The names of these commissioners were, Colonel Nicholls, Cartwright, Carr, and Maverick.

for his Majesty's use, till further order; but Captain Gookin, standing upon the privilege of their charter, and refusing to answer before the commissioners, as so there was no more done in it. Captain Pierce, who transported Whalley and Goffe into New-England, may probably say something to their estate."

I shall now trace out their secret residences, from June 24, 1661, to the last notice of them in 1679.

To begin at New-Haven, where they first disappeared: they withdrew from this town to the western side of a rock, or mountain, about three hundred feet perpendicular, commonly called the West Rock. At and about this mountain they secreted themselves about three or four months: three harbours, lodgments, or places of their residence there are known, and shewn to this day: I have visited all three of them.

In 1785 I visited aged Mr. Joseph Sperry, then living, aged 76, a grandson of the first Richard, a son of Daniel Sperry, who died 1751, aged 86, from whom Joseph received the whole family tradition. Daniel was the sixth son of Richard, and built a house at the south end of Sperry's farm, in which Joseph now lives, not half a mile west from the cave, which Joseph shewed me. There is a notch in the mountain against Joseph's house, through which I ascended along

along a very steep acclivity up to the cave. From the south end of the mountain for three or four miles northward, there is no possible ascent or descent on the west side, but at this notch, so steep is the precipice of the rock. I found the cave to be formed, on a base of perhaps forty feet square, by an irregular clump or pile of rocks, or huge broad pillars of stone, fifteen and twenty feet high, standing erect and elevated above the surrounding superficies of the mountain, and enveloped with trees and forest. These rocks, coalescing or contiguous at top, furnished hollows or vacuities below, big enough to contain bedding and two or three persons. The apertures being closed with boughs of trees, or otherwise, there might be found a well-covered and convenient lodgment. Here, Mr. Sperry told me, was the first lodgment of the regicides, and it has ever since gone and been known by the name of the Judges' Cave to this day. Goffe's Journal says, they entered this cave the 15th of May, and continued in it till the 11th of June following.—Richard Sperry daily supplied them with victuals from his house about a mile off; sometimes carrying it himself, at other times sending it by one of his boys, tied up in a cloth, ordering him to lay it on a certain stump and leave it: and when the boy went for it at night, he always found the basons emptied of the provisions,

visions, and brought them home. The boy wondered at it, and used to ask his father the design of it, and he saw nobody. His father only told him there was somebody at work in the woods that wanted it. The sons always remembered it, and often told it to persons now living, and to Mr. Joseph Sperry particularly.

They continued here till 11th of June. Mr. Joseph Sperry told me, that the incident which broke them up from this cave was this, that this mountain being a haunt for wild animals, one night as the regicides lay in bed, a panther, or catamount, putting his head into the door or aperture of the cave, blazed his eye-balls in such a hideous manner upon them, as greatly affrighted them. One of them was so terrified by this grim and ferocious monster, his eyes and his squalling, that he took to his heels, and fled down the mountain to Sperry's house for safety. They thereupon considered this situation too dangerous, and quitted it. All the Sperry families have this tradition.

Mr. Joseph Sperry also told me another anecdote: that, one day the regicides being at Mr. Richard Sperry's house, some persons appeared riding up towards the house through a causey over the meadows, so that they could be seen fifty or sixty rods off; who, by their apparel, and particularly their red coats, were by the family immediately

immediately taken to be, not our own people, but enemies. They were the English pursuivants unexpectedly returned from New-York, or Manhados. Upon which the guests absconded into the woods of the adjoining hill, and concealed themselves behind Savin Rock, twenty rods west of Sperry's house. When the pursuivants came to the house, and inquired of the family for the two regicides, they said they knew not where they were, they had transiently been there, but had gone into the woods. I have long ago often heard this story of the pursuivants actually surprising the regicides at Sperry's house, and that it was unexpectedly, and when they were off their guard, and upon their unexpected return from New-York. Yet, by Hutchinson's account, they returned to Boston by water. But it has always been the tradition at New-Haven that they returned here, and by corruption of servants learned this retreat at Sperry's, and made this sudden irruption to surprise and take them. That they came there, and came unexpectedly, whether on 14th May, before they went out of town, or afterwards upon a return, I think there can be no doubt.

I have described their first residence in the cave on the rock. Mr. Sperry told me of two others, one about two miles north, and the third at the lodge and fort, so called, about four miles north-west

north-west in the wilderness. These I afterwards visited.

The second residence is a little more dubious than the first and last, which a reunquestionably certain. It was about two miles and a half north of the first, at the foot of the mountain on the western bank of a small rivulet, which runs along the west side of the West Rock. Descending a steep bank, or brow of the hill of upland, sixteen feet, I came to a bottom, or level, forty feet wide, four or five feet above the water of the rivulet or brook, which I measured thirty-four feet wide at that place. This bottom, or level, extended along the bank, on the edge of the river, fifty-four rods, under the brow of the hill, being from two to three rods wide. It was a beautiful, shady, and pleasant ambulacrum, or walk. The upland on the west side is a level of twenty feet above the river. From under the western brow issues a perpetual spring about the middle of the ambulacrum, running in a perpetual pleasant brook or stream along under the western brow, and discharging into the rivulet. The rest of the bottom is not wet and marshy, but dry and salubrious. The whole on both sides of the river was, in 1785, enveloped in trees and forest, and yet the bottom was not so charged with trees as to be impassable, being only a pleasant shady retreat, in which a philosopher might

might walk with delight. Near the upper end of this walk, closed in at each end by the curve brow of the hill coming down to the very brink of the rivulet, was situate the hut of the regicides under the side or brow of the hill. Evident traces of it remained in 1785. It was partly dug out of the side of the hill, and built with stone wall, about eight feet one way and seven the other. The western wall was yet standing perhaps three feet high, and a remnant of the north wall. The site, when I saw it, was filled with weeds, and vegetables, and bushes, in the manner of old cellars, for it seemed to have been dug out a little lower than the surrounding surface of the bottom. The remainder of the stone-work evidently shewed that it had been built with design: and unvaried tradition says it was one of the abodes of the regicides. They could not have chosen a more secret, hidden, and pleasant concealment. They probably came to it next after they fled from the first cave, which they left 11th of June. In the twelve days succeeding they were in great uncertainty whether to surrender or not. It is not improbable that in this space of time they resided in Sperry's house, or perhaps in the adjacent woods part of the time, and part of it shewing themselves at New-Haven, as well as at Governor Leet's in Guilford. But concluding not to surrender as yet, they, on the

the 24th of June, went into their retirement. Let us suppose they now went into this second cave lodgment, or residence by the rivulet. For some reason, however, they do not seem to have sojourned here long: tradition says, because the Indian dogs in hunting discovered them: they therefore sought another lodgment. If Governor Hutchinson had made more copious extracts from Goffe's Journal, we doubtless should have had more particular descriptions. He speaks of the cave, whereas there were undoubtedly three residences in three different places, although all three at and behind the West Rock.

The third place of their abode in the vicinity of New-Haven, was at a place called to this day *The Ledge*. It was situated at a spring in a valley, or excavation in a declivity, about three miles west, or a little north-west, from the last-mentioned residence. A little northward of it was an eminence called the Fort to this day, from whence there was an extensive and commanding prospect, and a full view of New-Haven harbour to the south-east, seven miles off. From this they could see the vessels passing in and out of the harbour. When they came to this abode is uncertain; it was in the summer; and they left it and removed to Milford, August 1661; after having resided in and about New-Haven for near half a year, from 7th of March

to

to 19th of August 1661. During this time they had two other occasional lodgments in the woods; one at the house of Mr. Riggs, newly set up in the wilderness, at Paugasset or Derby; another between that and Milford: they were sometimes also at Totoket or Branford. Thus they shifted about, secretly changing their recluses.

The regicides might have some other secret retreats and temporary lodgments: I have heard of two more within ten miles round New-Haven, but not with so perfect certainty: the one about four miles from Milford, on the road to Derby, where an old cellar remains to this day, said to have been one of their recluses. This is called George's cellar, from one George, who afterwards lived there: the other at Derby, on the eastern bank of Neugituck river, at a place then called Paugasset, and near the church. Madam Humphreys, consort of the Rev. Daniel Humphreys, and mother of the Honourable Colonel Humphreys, the ambassador, was a Riggs, and a descendant of Mr. Edward Riggs, one of the first settlers of Derby, between 1655 and 1660. She often used to speak of it as the family tradition, that the regicides who sometimes secreted themselves at the cave and in Sperry's farm, also for some time secreted themselves at Derby, in the house of her grandfather,

Mr.

Mr. Edward Riggs, whose house was forted or pallisadoed in, to secure it from the Indians, there being, 1660, perhaps fewer than half a dozen English families there in the woods, ten or a dozen miles from all other English settlements, and they all lodged in this forted house. Certainly this was a good and safe recluse. They might probably shift their residences, especially in the dangerous summer of 1661, to disappoint and deceive pursuivants, and avoid discovery. This tradition is preserved in the Riggs' and Humphreys' families to this day.

When I once saw one of the pocket volumes of Goffe's Journal for 1662, which Hutchinson shewed me in 1766, I little thought of the use I could now have made of it. As the original is lost, I regret that I did not extract and copy more of it, while in my possession, than this little relic. In the beginning of it was the following list of names, which I then copied:

" Isaac Ewre	P. Peckham
S. F. Banners	J. Moore
S. T. Malevern	I. Alured
W. Purefoy	H. Edwards
I. Blackstone	S. G. Norton
S. W. Constable	I. Venn
R. Deane	T. Andrews
F. Alleyne	A. Stapley

T. Horton
I. Fry
T. Hammond
S. I. Bourchier, *all deceased*

O. Cromwell
—— Ireton
—— Bradshaw
* Pride

Wm. Ld. Monsun
Ja. Challoner
Sir H. Mildmay
Sir J. Harrington
I. Phelps
Robert Wale
Sir A. Haslerig. — *J. Challoner and Sir A. Hasterig, dead; the other five are degraded, and when taken to be drawn from Tower to Tiburne with ropes, &c. and imprisoned during life.*

I. Lisle

W. Say
V. Walton
E. W——
J. Barksd. *
E. Ludlow
M. Lewsay
J. Okey *
J. Hewson
W. G——
C. Holland
T. Chattr.
M. Corbett *
W. Cawley
N. Love
J. Dixwell
D. Blagrave
A. Broughton
A. Dendy.—*Fled*

J. Pennington
R. Tichbourne
O. Row *
A. Garland
E. Harvie
H. Smith
H. Martin
H. Walter
G. Fleetwood
J. Temple
P. Temple

P. Temple
J. Waite
S. Mayne
W. Henninghum
R. Lilèburne
G. Millington

V. Potter
T. Morgan
J. Downes. — *Condemned and in the Tower.*

Being arrived at Hadley, they took up their abode at the house of the Rev. Mr. Russel. At this house, and at the house of Peter Tilton, Esq. they spent the rest of their lives, for fourteen or sixteen years, in dreary solitude and seclusion from the society of the world. The almost only important anecdote that transpires concerning them in this secreted abode, was that of the angel appearance there, which is preserved to this day in the tradition at New-Haven and Hadley, as well as in Governor Leverett's family: and also that one or both died at Hadley, and that Whalley was buried in Mr. Russel's cellar, or lot adjoining his house, also as current at New-Haven as Hadley.

They came to Hadley, October 1664, and Whalley died there about 1676, or 1678, and Goffe's last letter is April 2, 1679, and no more was heard of him after 1680. Soon after their arrival at Hadley, John Dixwell, Esq. another of Charles's judges, came to them in February 1664—5, and sojourned with them in their secrecy for some time.

COLONEL DIXWELL, AND HIS SEPULTURE AT NEW-HAVEN.

COLONEL John Dixwell was another of King Charles's judges: he was of the Priory of Folkstone, in the county of Kent. He was a junior brother of Mark Dixwell of Broome, in the parish of Barham, in the county of Kent, who died 1643, leaving in the hands and in the care of Colonel Dixwell, all his estate and children, all minors, and among the rest his eldest son and principal heir, Basil, afterwards Sir Basil Dixwell. He came to New-England a bachelor, then neither having brother nor sister living. The Colonel was a gentleman in good and easy circumstances, being possessed of a manor and sundry other estates in England. Engaging in the civil wars, he became an officer in the army under the Parliament and Protectorate; was nominated sheriff of the county of Kent, and became member of parliament for Kent in 1654. He was one of the judges that signed the warrant, 1649. At the restoration he abdicated his country in 1660; but when he first came to New-England is unknown; very little can be recovered concerning him, for the first ten or a dozen years of his abdication. The first notice

we have of him is in Goffe's Journal, while the Judges were at Hadley, wherein it is entered that Colonel Dixwell came to them there, February 10, 1664-5; but ever after they call him Mr. Davids, and afterwards he went by the name of James Davids, Esq. till his death. This name, it is said, he assumed, being his mother's name. Governor Hutchinson says, he lived at Hadley some years; his grand-daughter, Mrs. Caruthers, says only six weeks. From thence, or after various wanderings and recluses, now unknown, he at length came to New-Haven; where, though covered with a borrowed name, he, however, was generally supposed to have been one of those who were obnoxious in England; but he carefully concealed his true character from the public.

When he first came to New-Haven is unknown. Stephen Ball, Esq. of New Haven, aged 67, a descendant of the original inhabitants, tells me, the tradition is, that when Mr. Davids first came here, he put up and lived with an aged family, two sedate old persons, Mr. Ling and his wife, who had no children. Mr. Ling at his death requested him to assist and take care of his wife, and recommended it to her to be kind to him. He left his house and whole estate to his wife. Mr. Davids assisted in settling the

estate, and afterwards he said he did not know any better way to shew kindness, and take care of her, than to marry her, and accordingly married her. She soon dying, he married another wife, and had children by her.—Thus far Deacon Ball. Mr. Ling's death was in 1673; his will, and the inventory of his estate, 900*l.* was then immediately entered, and remain on the probate records to this day. So Mr. Davids must have been in New-Haven before 1672, and probably several years before, as a short and transient acquaintance would not have been sufficient to produce that trust and confidence which Mr. Ling reposed in him at his death.

Mr. Ling's house was in a retired part of the town, at the north-west corner of what was afterwards called Mr. Pierpont's Square. Here Mr. Davids lived in a retired indeed, but not secreted manner; for he constantly attended public worship, was openly conversant, though not very familiarly and intimately, with the inhabitants, who considered him as a respectable and pious gentleman, who resided among them in a quiet and peaceable manner, without transacting any apparent business, and yet subsisting with decency, leading rather a recluse and private life. His countenance, but not his true name, was known to Mr. Jones at his first coming, who probably

probably was soon after possessed of his true name and character, and proved his faithful friend till death. There is some reason to think he was early known to a very few others in town, particularly to Mr. Street and Mr. Bishop, as he certainly was afterwards to Mr. Pierpont. The Rev. Nicholas Street, the minister of New-Haven, died 1674; in his will, dated April 14, 1674, he requests "his beloved friends Mr. James Davids and Mr. Nicholas Augur to be assistants to his wife in the settlement of his estate." Doctor Augur was an eminent learned physician of the town, and opulent, and of early accession and long acquaintance with Mr. Street, whose confidence also reposed in Mr. Davids, may seem to imply more than a short acquaintance, not less, probably, than five or six years intimacy. Mr. Street was settled in New-Haven, a colleague minister with Mr. Davenport, in 1658; and upon Mr. Davenport's removing to Boston, 1667, continued sole minister till his death, 1674. I believe Dixwell was unknown to Davenport, and probably did not come here till after his removal to Boston. After all, I consider the first certainty of his actually being here to be about 1672, and at least Mr. Ling's death in 1675; while yet it is more than probable he was here still earlier. From 1660 to

1665, we know nothing of him; he was perfectly out of sight: then he just appeared at Hadley, and vanished, leaving no certain trace of himself from 1665 to 1672; where we must date the first certainty of his being at New-Haven. While here, he always conducted himself like a pious and exemplary Christian. One says, "Mr. Dixwell was a very pious and religious man, and always fasted on Friday of every week constantly." Another says, "he had the reputation of a worthy old gentleman, a very pious and holy man, and lived very much by himself and retired." Another, aged 83, speaking of Dixwell and all the regicides, says, that "The *good old people*, when he was a boy, used to speak of these men as 'very *good*,' and *pious*, and *holy* 'persons,' and they believed what they had 'done they did out of conscience, and that they 'themselves always thought they had done right'."

In New-Haven records I find these entries:

"Mr. James Davids and Mrs. Joanna Ling were married by Mr. James Bishop, the 3d of November 1673."

"Mr. James Davids and Bathsheba How were married the 23d of October, before James Bishop assistant, 1677."

"Mary, daughter of Mr. James Davids, born 9th June 1679."

"John

"John, the son of Mr. James Davids and Bathsheba Davids, was born the 6th day of March 1680-1."

"Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. James and Bathsheba Davids, was born the 14th of July, in New-Haven, 1682.

"Mr. John Dixwell and Mrs. Mary Prout were married September 1, 1708."

From New-Haven church records, in the handwriting of the Rev. James Pierpont, who was ordained pastor of the church, July 1685, I extracted this: "December 29, 1685, Mr. James Davids, alias John Dixwell, admitted into church fellowship."

From hence it appears, that Mr. Dixwell came to New-Haven before 1672; that he was known here by the name of James Davids; that by his first wife he had no children; that he married his second wife 1677, and by her he had three children, one of whom, his only son John, afterwards married Miss Prout; and that he was admitted a member in full communion with the church of New-Haven, in 1685, within half a year after Mr. Pierpont's ordination, and this by the name of Dixwell as well as Davids; which shews that his true character was known to Mr. Pierpont, at his first coming to New-Haven, though the tradition here is, that Mr. Dixwell

Dixwell never revealed it till death, on his death-bed, and then to Mr. Pierpont: in truth, it was known to Governor Jones and Governor Bishop, Mr. Ling and Mr. Street, from the beginning of his coming here, say 1672, and to Mr. Pierpont, 1685, and to a few others till his death, when it was promulgated to the town.

During the seventeen years, or more, in which he lived in New-Haven, nothing extraordinary occurred concerning him. From 1674 to 1685, the church had no settled minister with whom he might associate. The Rev. Nicholas Street, the minister, at his first coming here, soon died. For above eleven years the church was destitute of a pastor, and supplied by occasional and temporary preachers only, till Mr. Pierpont's settlement, 1685. With him the Colonel entered immediately into an open and unreserved, but confidential communication; but this was only for the short space of the three or four last years of his exile. During this short time there was the greatest intimacy and friendship, which, however, seems for some time to have been concealed from even his wife; for tradition says, that Madam Pierpont, observing and remarking the singular intimacy, and wondering at it, used to ask him what could be the reason of this intimacy, and what he saw in that old man, who

was

was so fond of leading an obscure, unnoticed life, that they should be so very intimate, and take such pleasure in being often together; for their house-lots being contiguous, and cornering upon one another, they had beaten a path in walking across their lots to meet and converse together at the fence: and she often wondered why he should be so fond of meeting and conversing with that old gentleman at the fence? To whom he replied, that he was a very knowing and learned man; that he understood more about *religion* and other things than any other man in the town; and that if she knew the worth and value of that old man, she would not wonder at it.

Among other traditionary anecdotes concerning him, this is one: The English, and, perhaps, Europeans in general, especially those who have been conversant in the variety of business and employments in large cities and populous towns, have a singular sagacity in judging from the external appearance and manner, a person's business and occupation in life. Sir Edmund Andross came to America, andbecame Governor of New-York, in 1675 to 1684, and of Massachusetts from 1686 to 1689. In one of his tours through the colony of Connecticut, perhaps about 1686, attending public worship at New-Haven,

Haven, he observed a venerable old gentleman at meeting, and noticing him closely, discerned something singular in him, and suspected him. After meeting he inquired who that person was, and was told that he was a merchant who resided in town. Sir Edmund replied, that he knew he was not a merchant, and became particularly inquisitive about him. Probably Colonel Dixwell was notified of the inquisitiveness of this stranger concerning his person and character; for the Colonel was not seen at meeting in the afternoon.

In connexion with this, I may mention another tradition, which I received from Major Lyon and others, indicating how obnoxious Sir Edmund was at New-Haven, as well as through New-England. Sir Edmund being at meeting here, and probably on the same Lord's day as the above, the Deacon gave out the 52d Psalm to sing, in Sternhold and Hopkins's version, which begins thus:

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad,
Thy wicked works to praise?
Dost thou not know there is a God,
Whose mercies last always?

"Why

"Why doth thy mind yet still devise
Such wicked wiles to warp?
Thy tongue untrue, in forging lies,
Is like a razor sharp.

"Thou dost delight in fraud and guile,
In mischief, blood, and wrong;
Thy lips have learn'd the flattering style,
O false, deceitful tongue!"

Governor Andross felt it as an intended insult upon himself, and after meeting resented it as such, and reprehended the Deacon for it; but being told it was the usage of this church to sing the Psalms in course, he excused the Deacon, and let the matter pass off. But it is not improbable, that, though this might be the general usage, yet, in this instance, a Psalm was selected for Sir Edmund's contemplation.

Colonel Dixwell carried on no secular business, but employed his time in reading, and rural walks into the neighbouring fields, groves, and woods, adjacent to his house. Mr. Pierpont had a large library, from whence, as well as from his own collection, he could be supplied with a variety of books. He often spent his evenings at Mr. Pierpont's, and when they were by themselves, retired together in his study, they indulged themselves with great familiarity and humour, respect and honour, and free and unrestrained

strained conversation upon all matters, whether of religion or politics. But otherwise, when in company, Mr. Pierpont treated and behaved towards Colonel Dixwell with caution and reserve. The Colonel spent much of his retirement in reading history. As a token and memorial of his friendship for Mr. Pierpont, he in his last will presented him with Raleigh's History of the World. This book is now before me, and in it I find inscribed by Mr. Pierpont, in his own hand-writing, with which I am well acquainted in the church records, "James Pierpont's book, 1689, *ex dono Dom.* John Dixwell, *in testamento suo novissimo.*" What Raleigh wrote for the use of the learned world, as well as for his own amusement, during a fourteen years' imprisonment, under condemnation for treason, became the entertainment of Dixwell during his twenty-eight years' exile, under the same high accusation and condemnation.

Whether Colonel Dixwell had any communication with Whalley and Goffe after he left them at Hadley, is not certainly known; but intelligence was probably kept up between them by means of Jones and Tillton; his supplies for subsistence, and their channels, are also unknown. Besides the monies he doubtless brought over with him from England, he acquired eight or nine hundred pounds by his first wife, besides his

his house. His nephew, Sir Basil Dixwell, totally neglected and abandoned him; and it does not appear that he received any thing from England during his exile, from any but his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Hestrow: and the tradition is, that, in the latter part of the exile, though he was not needy or in indigence, yet he was in straitened circumstances, for a person formerly accustomed to affluence.

After having three children born to him in New-Haven, he made a disposition of his estate in England, which he expected would be restored. This he did in several indentures and writings in 1682, which he did secretly, but left them to be recorded and used after his death. His wife procured them to be approved by the judges of the county court, in 1691, which had at that time the probate of wills, and the jurisdiction of all testamentary matters and settlements of estates.

There is no reason to think that the three regicides were ever out of New-England after their arrival in America, though there were some loose flying stories that they were at New York. Suppose Whalley and Goffe both died at Hadley, the former 1678, the latter 1680, then Dixwell was left alone. It does not appear that Dixwell's residence in New-England was ever suspected, either in England by the ministry there,

or

or by Randolph, in New-England: so that he who really lived the most openly of any of them, lived the most safely and securely. He well knew, however, and fully felt, the danger, that the regicides' ashes might be disturbed, as he must be well apprised of the unceasing vigilance of Randolph; it is possible, also, that three regicides might wish that their graves might be together. What has been before narrated is delivered upon sure documents: I shall now narrate what is only conjectural, and leave it with every one's judgment; only observing, that if it ever did take place, no one will doubt but that Dixwell was concerned in it. There is somehow preserved, not in universal or general, but particular, and strong, and lineal tradition, at New-Haven, which is to be considered more largely hereafter, that another of the regicides besides Dixwell lies buried in our burying-place, and that this other was Whalley. This is particularly preserved among the sextons, or grave diggers, who, it seems, for many years, and perhaps ever from the time, especially of Dixwell's death, have shewn the stone marked E. W. for Whalley, as they have that marked J. D. for Dixwell. I have not found the least tradition or surmise of Goffe, till I myself conjectured it, January 1793, inferring in my own mind, without a doubt, that, if Whalley, who certainly

certainly died at Hadley, was afterwards removed here, Goffe would have been also: but of this (I mean as to Goffe's being here also) I can find no tradition, while yet I find it tenaciously adhered to by some few, and particularly in the line of grave-diggers, that Whalley is here. I have often examined the stone marked E. W. but consider the matter without proof, yet possible, not to say a little probable, but by no means certain. Nor do I wish, and least of all attempt, to gain any one's credulity to it, leaving every mind perfectly free and unprejudiced; but as I know that whoever takes the pains which I have done to trace out, and collect, and digest the traditions in New-Haven, will find this among others, however it originates among us: so, after this precaution and notification, I shall proceed to what is of some consequence in the life of Dixwell, if true; and should it be, indeed, otherwise, will have no bad consequence, as not being adduced on the verity of history.

It is, then, supposed by some, that Whalley also lies buried in New-Haven; if so, his corpse must have been taken up and secretly conveyed here; for, without repeating the proofs, it is certain he died in Hadley. Who will doubt this removal was at the procurement of his friend Dixwell, or, at least, that he was privy to it, and concerned in effecting it?—None. If done before

1685, none but Dixwell, Jones, and Bishop, in New-Haven, and Russel, Tillton, and perhaps Smith, at Hadley, were privy to it; and yet, probably, it was after Randolph's disappointment became dangerous, which was after 1680, when Goffe was either dead or abdicated. At all events, the five or six I have mentioned must have been the principal persons concerned in effecting this removal; if so, Dixwell must have been deeply concerned in the affair, and this event and transaction, however secretly performed, must become an important anecdote in his life, as being the last care and office of surviving friendship, to the memory and to the security of the ashes of an unhappy fellow-exile and brother-regicide. In this Governor Jones was unquestionably the efficacious agent: he and Mr. Tillton must have been the men who procured the corpse to have been conveyed from Hadley and interred in New-Haven, in so private and secret a manner, as to have eluded even the suspicion of Randolph. If Goffe died at Hadley, 1680, as is probable, the same reason which would induce the removal of one would induce the removal of the other, and, perhaps, from a secret preconcerted plan, that all the three exiles should be deposited and sleep in the dust together, until they should arise together at the last day. Now, if all this was true,

which can never be fully ascertained, it would have been, as I have said, an important event in the life and transactions of Judge Dixwell; the whole is submitted as only conjectural, though I shall attend further to it hereafter.

After a concealment of twenty-nine years, in exile from his native country, and banishment into oblivion from the world, of which seventeen years, at least, probably more, were spent in New-Haven, by the name of James Davids, Esq. Colonel Dixwell died in New-Haven: he, and all the other regicides, lived and died in the firm expectation of a revolution in England. This had actually taken place the November before Dixwell's death, but the news not having then arrived, he died ignorant of it, about a month before the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston. At his death he discovered his true character to the people, and owned the name of John Dixwell, but requested that no monument should be erected at his grave, giving any account of his person, name, and character, and alleged as a reason, "lest his enemies might dishonour his ashes;" requesting that only a plain stone might be set up at his grave, inscribed with his initials, J. D. Esq. with his age, and time of his death. Accordingly, a plain, rough stone is erected at the head of his grave, close by

the tomb-stone of Governor Eaton and Governor Jones, which stone is standing to this day, charged with this inscription, as at first put and engraved upon it by his friends:

"J. D. Esq.
Deceased March the 18th,
In the 82d Year of his Age,
1688-9."

He left a wife and two children. His will was afterwards exhibited and approved, and recorded in the probate office, from the records of which I have transcribed the following copy:

"*The last Will of James Davids, alias John Dixwell.*

"I, James Davids, of the town of New-Haven, being in reasonable good health, and perfect memory, I bless the Lord for it, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following: *Imprimis*, I give unto my loving wife, my house in New-Haven aforesaid, with the home lot, the orchard, and buildings, and also my lands at the Beaver-pond, and one acre of arable land, being in the quarter called Cooper's Quarter, and likewise my land in the Neck, with the woodlands, lying in two parcels: all which I give unto Bathsheba Davids, my wife, for and during her natural life; and

and after her decease, I give unto my son John my house, and the lands aforesaid, unto him and his heirs for ever. *Item*, I give unto my son John all such lands as fell to me by the last division, being about fourscore acres, to him and his heirs for ever: and if my son John die without issue of his body, lawfully begotten, then my will is, that my daughter Mary shall have the house, with all the lands before mentioned, to her and her heirs for ever. *Item*, I give my honoured friend, Mr. Pierpont, pastor of the church of Christ in New-Haven, Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. *Item*, I give unto my son John all the rest of my books, and my silver standish I used to write with, and my tweezers, which is in a red tortoiseshell case, my sword, and my gun, all which I desire may be carefully kept for him. *Item*, I give unto my daughter Mary twelve pounds. *Item*, I give unto my loving wife Bathsheba Davids, the rest of my personal estate here in New-England, and do make my said wife sole executrix of this my last will and testament. And I do hereby declare, that this will shall not extend to any thing enjoyed by me, or belonging to me, in Old England. And I do earnestly desire my loving friends, Mr. William Jones, and Mrs. Jones, his wife, of New-Haven, aforesaid, if my wife die before my friends in England send for

my children, unto whom I have committed the care and education of them, that they would receive them into their family, and take care of them till my friends have opportunity to send for them, and what charge and expense they shall be at thereby, to be repaid to them. And I desire, also, my good friends aforesaid, that what belongs to my children here, they would take care that it may be preserved for them. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal. Dated this seventh day of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight.

"JAMES DAVIDS. (L.S.)

"Signed and published
in the presence of
"*James Clarke*,
"*James Heaton*.

"I do also hereby signify my mind and will to be, that such of my books as have my daughter's name written upon them, belong to her, and that she shall enjoy them.

"JAMES DAVIDS."

"An inventory of the estate of Mr. James Davids, late of New-Haven, deceased, taken and apprised by Captain Moses Mansfield, and Thomas Tuttle, June 10, 1689, amounting to 276*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and among other articles housing and homested, 65*l.*" By a cursory review of a number

number of inventories about this time, I should judge Mr. Dixwell's estate better than those of half the inhabitants of New-Haven, who were comfortable livers; and, consequently, that he was not reduced to indigency. I have often been in his house, which was standing still twenty or twenty-five years ago; it was a comfortable, two-story, old-fashioned house.

Immediately after his death, the news of the revolution, and of the accession of King William and Queen Mary arrived here, upon which things took a new turn, and assumed an aspect more favourable to civil and religious liberty. In a little time, therefore, or in about two years after Dixwell's death, it became safe to bring forth the following indentures and writings, which I find recorded in the probate office at New-Haven, and which I have transcribed and copied from the records of that office, as they will illustrate the history of Colonel Dixwell.

Extracts from the New-Haven Records.

"Here follows a record of several deeds and other writings, recorded at the desire of Mrs. Bathsheba Davids, and the allowance of the county court.

"This indenture, made the tenth of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred eighty-two, between John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of the Priory of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, Esq. of the one part, and Bath-

sheba Dixwell, his wife, on the other part, witnesseth, that the said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, for the natural love and affection he beareth to his said wife, hath given, granted, and confirmed unto the said Bathsheba Dixwell, his wife, all that his farm lying in the parish of Hougham, in the county of Kent, with the houses and buildings, and all the lands, arable and pasture, and meadows thereto belonging, formerly in the occupation of widow Vallier, to have and to hold, and enjoy, and also to take and receive the profits thereof during her natural life, with power also to lease out said farm and lands for a yearly rent, so that it be to the value of it, and her lease extend not for above eleven years at a time. In witness whereof, the parties above named have interchangeably set their hands and seals. Dated the day and year above named.

"JOHN DIXWELL, (L. S.)
alias
"JAMES DAVIDS.

"Sealed and delivered
in the presence of
"*Joseph Allsup*,
"*James Clarke*,
"*Joseph Allsup*, jun."

"This writing, as above, is a true record of the original. Recorded and examined per me,

"*James Bishop*,
"Clerk of New-Haven county."

"This

"This indenture, made the twentieth of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, between John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of the Priory of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, Esq. of the one part, and John Dixwell, his son, of the other part, witnesseth, that the said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, out of the natural love and affection he beareth unto said son John, hath given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents doth give, grant, and confirm, unto the said John Dixwell, his son, all that his capital house, called the Priory of Folkestone, with the pigeon-house, stables, barns, and all the lands thereunto belonging, called the Priory Lees, and also all that his farm called or known by the name of Sandgate Farm, with the buildings thereunto belonging, and all the lands, arable, pasture, and meadow, thereunto belonging, formerly in the occupation of John Hill, or his assigns, and also all his marsh lands lying in Romney marsh, formerly in the occupation of Basil Cloake, or his assigns; and also all that his farm lying in the parish of Hougham, with all the houses and lands, arable, pasture, and meadow, thereunto belonging, formerly in the occupation of widow Vallier, or her assigns, and also all his manor and farm called Buckland, near unto Haversham, in the said county, with all

all the houses and buildings, lands arable and pasture, thereunto belonging, to have and to hold the said houses and lands, with the manor of Buckland aforesaid, after the death of the said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, unto his said son John, and his heirs for ever: and if my son John die without issue of his body, lawfully begotten, if the Lord should give me another son, that then the brother of the said John shall enjoy all the houses and lands, with the manor aforesaid, to him and to his heirs for ever; and if there be no issue male to inherit the same, then I give and grant all the houses and lands aforesaid, to my two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to their heirs for ever: and if there be no issue lawfully begotten from the children of the said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, then I give and grant all the aforesaid manor and lands unto my dear and loving niece, Elizabeth Westrow, during her life, and after to Dixwell Westrow, her son, and his heirs for ever; and I do also hereby signify and declare, that all former settlements of the lands before mentioned, on any of the sons of my brother, Mark Dixwell, deceased, being upon revocation either by indenture or by will, shall be null and void. In witness whereof, the parties abovenamed have interchangeably set their hands

and

and seals. Dated the day and year above-named, 1682.

" JOHN DIXWELL, (L. S.)
alias
" JAMES DAVIDS.

" Signed, sealed, and delivered,
in the presence of
" *Joseph Allsup,*
" *James Clarke,*
" *Joseph Allsup, jun.*"

" This writing, as above, is a true record of the original, recorded and examined per me,
James Bishop,
" Clerk of New-Haven county."

" MR. DAVIDS.

" Whereas my brother, Mark Dixwell, of Broome, in the parish of Barham, in the county of Kent, Esq. deceased, did by his deed of bargain and sale convey and settle his whole estate upon me for the consideration of thirteen thousand pounds, to be paid, to the best of my remembrance, in manner following; viz. to his two daughters, Elizabeth and Bennet, two thousand pounds apiece at the time of marriage, or at the age of eighteen years, and to his second son, Heardson, three thousand pounds, at his age of one-and-twenty years, and also to his son William two thousand pounds, at his age of one-and-twenty years,

years, and likewise to his eldest son Basil, four thousand pounds, at his age of two-and-twenty years, for the payment of which sums I entered into several bonds. Now this sale of his estate was, indeed, but in trust, my brother having that confidence in me, I would manage his estate for the benefit and advantage of his eldest son, and pay those sums before mentioned to his younger children, did leave his whole estate and care of his children solely to me: he then casting after three hundred pounds yearly, being paid to his widow for her jointure, and two hundred and fifty pounds yearly, being allowed for his five children's education, allowing fifty pounds apiece for every one of them, did suppose the sums aforesaid might be raised when his eldest son came to the age of two-and-twenty years, not considering of any taxes to be paid out of his estate, nor abatement of rents in regard to the great troubles that were then in the nation: and this trust my brother committed to me, I did with all the care and diligence I could, to the utmost of my power, perform, in taking care for his children as if they had been my own. My brother died, as I remember, in February one thousand six hundred and forty-three, and then I took upon me that trust, and paid and laid out the sums following: to his two daughters, Elizabeth and Bennet, when they married, four

thousand

thousand pounds; the taxes I paid out of the estate could not be less than one thousand five hundred pounds, for his estate was cessed to the full value: I laid out, at least, six thousand pounds, in purchasing the manor of Diggs and other lands, for his eldest son, and in buildings and other necessary expenses about his chief house, and elsewhere, one thousand pounds; and for the abatement of rents those troublesome times, one thousand and twenty pounds, the sums before mentioned, I do think, and rather more than less. Besides, when I came away, I left with my brother's widow five hundred pounds, there being in the tenants' hands, at least, one thousand pounds, which, with the profits of his estates for two years more, would have gone near to have raised the other sons' portions, if their mother, that was entrusted with the same, had been as careful as I was. But the sums aforesaid could never have been disbursed, considering the taxes which were paid out of the estate, and the abatement of rents, and the necessary expenses about building and reparation, and his estate so increased, if I had made use of my own money; for what money I had, and what I saved out of my estate for seventeen years, I made use of to improve my nephew's, the which I suppose to be between two or three thousand pounds; and being confident of my nephew's in-

enuity

ingenuity and honesty in paying the same, did not make any provision to secure the same when I settled his father's estate upon him; but most ungratefully and injuriously he refused to allow any thing to me for this considerable sum, nor shew any respect for the care I had of him, by making some provisions for me in my afflicted estate; and that there was such a sum due to me from Basil, my brother's eldest son: his mother, now the Lady of Oxindon, was so persuaded of it, she offered me two thousand pounds for it, and if she be living can testify to the truth of what I say, and to the particulars before mentioned. Besides, for seventeen years I was at great expense and trouble in managing this estate, and therefore, in justice, there ought to be an allowance for the same; and also for detaining such a sum from me, taking advantage of my condition, and shewing unmercifulness, in that they would allow me nothing for my present maintenance, that if the Lord had not extraordinarily provided for me, I had perished for want. Now, being confident the Lord will appear for his people, and the good old cause for which I suffer, and that there will be those in power again that will relieve the injured and oppressed, the Lord having given me opportunity to change my condition, and also given me children, I think I am bound to use the best means I can,

I can, whereby they may enjoy what is so injuriously kept from me. Therefore, know all men by these presents, that I, John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of the Priory of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, Esq. do hereby constitute and appoint my dear and loving niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Westrow, and Thomas Westrow, her son, my true and lawful attornies, to ask, demand, and receive of the eldest son of my nephew, Sir Basil Dixwell, Knight and Baronet, deceased, or his executors, or any that may be justly liable thereto, the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, and also allowance for the trouble, charge, and expense, in managing the estate aforesaid, for seventeen years, and likewise with allowance for detaining the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, for two-and-twenty years past; and if the executors of my said nephew Sir Basil Dixwell, or his son, or any other that may be justly liable thereto, refuse to pay, or give satisfaction for the same, then to sue, implead, and use all other lawful means the law and justice will afford, to recover the same: and I also empower my said attornies to compound with them upon just and reasonable terms, and also to give a full discharge from the same, by release, or by making any other legal discharge which may be according to law. And I do also hereby signify what my said attor-

nies

nies shall recover or receive, for the same to be paid to my children according to a writing I have, bearing date with this my letter of attorney. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal. Dated the two-and-twentieth of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

" John Dixwell, (L.S.)
alias
" James Davids.

" Sealed, signed, and delivered,
in presence of
" *Joseph Allsup*,
" *James Clarke*,
" *Joseph Allsup*, jun."

" The interlining of Thomas Westrow in this writing, and also the other interlining, is done by my own hand, the reason being, my dear niece Elizabeth Westrow being sickly, I thought fit to join her son Thomas Westrow with her in this trust, and by reason of the infirmities of my old age, being about eighty years old, and not able to new-write it, and not knowing any I durst trust to write it for me; I hope this will satisfy any that shall make any scruple thereof. And I do hereby signify my mind to be, that if I die, it shall not null the power I have given unto the said Elizabeth and Thomas Westrow, but this my letter of attorney

shall be of full force after my death as now. And I further empower the said Elizabeth and Thomas Westrow, if they die before the monies mentioned be recovered, that they shall have power, by writing under their hand and seal, to empower such as they shall think fit to recover the monies mentioned in this writing, to be paid as is expressed in another writing, bearing date with this, wherein my desires are fully mentioned.

"JOHN DIXWELL.

May the 7th, 1688.

"This writing as above, with that on the other side, is a true record of the original. Recorded and examined per me,

"*James Bishop*,

"Clerk of New-Haven county."

MR. DAVIDS.

"Whereas I, John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of the Priory of Folkstone, in the county of Kent, Esq. have constituted and appointed my dear and loving niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Westrow, and Thomas her son, my true and lawful attornies, to ask, and demand, and receive, of the executors of my nephew, Sir Basil Dixwell, Knight and Baronet, deceased, or his son, or any other that may be justly liable thereto, the sum of two thousand five hundred

pounds, which I laid out for the improving his estate, with allowance for the managing his estate at my own charge for seventeen years, and also for detaining the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds from me for these two-and-twenty years past, not affording me any thing for my subsistence in the time of my affliction: now, I do hereby signify by these presents, that what shall be recovered concerning the two thousand five hundred pounds owing to me, and also allowance for managing his estate for seventeen years, and likewise for detaining the said sum of two thousand five hundred pounds for two-and-twenty years, my said niece Elizabeth Westrow, and Thomas Westrow aforesaid, in case my son John enjoy my estate, which was taken from me in these times, that then they would pay my daughter Mary one thousand pounds at the day of her marriage, or at her age of eighteen years; and if she die before she marry or attain to the age aforesaid, that then my son John shall have the same. And also my desire is, my said dear niece would take two hundred pounds for her own use, as a token of my love and respect to her; and also that they would pay to my loving wife, Bathsheba Dixwell, two hundred pounds, and what is remaining, charges being allowed about recovering the same, they would pay it to my son John, at his age of one-and-twenty years: but if my son John

John do not enjoy my estate, that then my said daughter Mary shall have but five hundred pounds. And I do hereby commit the education of my children, and guardianship of them, wholly to the said Elizabeth and Thomas Westrow, earnestly requesting, if the Lord take me out of this world, they would send for them, and also my dear wife, if they please to come, for whom I have made some provision out of my estate I enjoyed; and I desire they would shew the same kindness to my wife they would shew to me. And I do make it my last and great request to my said dear niece and cousin Thomas Westrow, they would bring up my children in the knowledge and fear of God; and if any thing fall to my son in regard to my brother's estate, which was entailed upon me for want of issue male, they would endeavour my son John or other children may enjoy the same. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal. Dated the two-and-twentieth of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred eighty-two.

"JOHN DIXWELL, (L.S.)
alias
"JAMES DAVIDS.

"Sealed and delivered in
presence of
"*Joseph Allsup.*
"*James Clarke.*
"*Joseph Allsup*, jun.

"This writing as above is a true record of the original, recorded and examined per me,

"*James Bishop*,

"Clerk of New-Haven county.

"Further instructions on the other side."

MR. DAVIDS.

"These are further to signify my request unto my dear niece Elizabeth Westrow, and my cousin Thomas Westrow, her son, that I do hereby declare my mind to be, that what my dear niece Elizabeth Westrow, out of her tenderness, hath furnished me with, or yet may, if this condition continue, shall be allowed to her, or such as she shall assign it to. And I do also signify my mind to be, that my cousin Thomas Westrow aforesaid, shall have, for a token of my respect to him, forty pounds: and my further request is, if I die before any thing be recovered, that then my dear friends aforesaid would allow unto my wife, for her and my children's maintenance, twenty pounds yearly. And I do further declare my mind and will to be, that if my son John and daughter Mary die before the times mentioned in this writing for the payment of those monies to them, as is expressed, then I do hereby signify it to be my mind and will, that my dear niece Elizabeth Westrow aforesaid, and the children she had by her late husband Thomas

Westrow, deceased, shall have all such monies as remain due to me, to be equally divided between her and them. In testimony hereof, I have hereunto set my hand.

May 7, 1688. "JOHN DIXWELL."

"Know all men by these presents, that I James Davids, of the town of New-Haven, in New-England, alias John Dixwell, of the Priory of Folkstone, in the county of Kent, in Old England, Esq. being under weakness of body, and uncertain what issue the Lord will please to make with me, do think fit hereby to declare, that all the power and authority I have elsewhere given to my dear niece Elizabeth Westrow, and her son Thomas Westrow, shall after my death or decease continue, for the recovery of all that money mentioned in a letter of attorney already given or made unto the said Elizabeth and Thomas Westrow, authorizing them, as above said, unto the end and uses expressed in the said letter of attorney, and fully hereby declare, that the said Elizabeth and Thomas, or either of them, shall have and exercise all the trust, power, and authority expressed and conveyed in said letter of attorney, as fully in all respects as if I were personally present and living. In witness whereof, and for a most full confirmation of these presents, I have hereunto set my

hand and seal, this fifteenth of March, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, or eighty-nine.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of } "JAMES DAVIDS, alias
"*James Heaton*, "JOHN DIXWELL.
"*Enos Talmage*,
"*John Alling, tertius.*

"These two distinct writings, as above, are a true record of the originals. Recorded and examined per me,

"*James Bishop*,
"Clerk of New-Haven county."

End of the Records.

These entries or records are indeed without date; but they were made 1691, in the hand-writing of Governor Bishop, and among his last entries, as he died 24th of June 1691. They are between a record, dated to have been recorded Dec. 3, 1690, and the record of a deed acknowledged "before James Bishop, deputy governor," which acknowledgment is dated 31st of March 1691, and the record "by James Bishop, clerk of the county," though without date. The entries in the next page of the records is in Governor Jones's hand-writing.

So

So this is the last recording of Governor Bishop.

From these papers it appears, that Mr. Dixwell had a handsome estate in England; that he received some supplies from Mrs. Westrow, but none from the rest of the family, though he had faithfully executed an important betrustment for the benefit of his brother's children, and particularly Sir Basil Dixwell, who seems to have shewn no gratitude to his uncle in his distress, and long-protracted exile. It is probable, that the estate he had by his wife, the widow Ling, yielded him his principal subsistence for the last years of his life, if not for the whole of his sixteen years residence in New-Haven. He received something from his cousin Elizabeth Westrow; and, perhaps, some private donations, as his brother-regicides received at Hadley.

At his death, he left a widow and two children, a son and a daughter. The family lived together eighteen or twenty years in New-Haven, immediately resuming the name of Dixwell. The son was put to a goldsmith: and, through the faithful care of his friends, received a good, and religious, and respectable education, and became a pious and worthy man. The daughter, Mary Dixwell, married Mr. John Collins of Middletown, Dec. 24, 1797, the year

after the death of Governor Jones and his lady, to whose guardianship Mr. Dixwell had commended his two children, and who faithfully befriended them. The son soon married, and settled in Boston. Hereupon the mother, Mrs. Bathsheba Dixwell, the regicide's relic, removed, and lived with her daughter Collins at Middletown, in Connecticut, where she died, Dec. 27, 1729, aged 85, on her grave-stone 86. Mrs. Collins's children were as follows:

Nathaniel Collins, born Nov. 17, 1708.
Mary Collins, Sept. 23, 1710. Living 1793.
John Collins, March 18, 1712. Died May 6, 1714.
John Collins, 1714. Died Oct. 12, 1714.
Sibbel Collins, Aug. 16, 1716.
Abigail Collins, Jan. 4, 1718-19.

This account was at my request extracted from the records of the city of Middletown in 1793, by the Reverend Enoch Huntington, pastor of the first church in said city.

The regicide's only son, Mr. John Dixwell, settled as a goldsmith in Boston, about 1707; and afterwards went into trade, and became a merchant in good and flourishing circumstances. He was exemplary for amiableness of manners, and for strict integrity and religion, and became an elder in the new north church in Boston, and

ever

ever sustained a very worthy character, of which there is a respectable and affectionate testimony entered in the records of that church.

John Dixwell was among those who formed the new north church. The building was raised in 1714. In 1716 it is recorded, "that our worthy brother, Mr. John Dixwell, was unanimously chosen to the office of deacon.

Sept. 7, 1720. "Voted to proceed to the choice of three ruling elders; and when the votes were brought in, it appeared, that our worthy brethren, John Baker, deacon, Caleb Lyman, and deacon John Dixwell, were chosen to said office with great unanimity."

April 2, 1725. "On this day died that excellent elder, John Dixwell, in the forty-fourth year of his age, greatly lamented by this church, and by all that knew his singular worth and abilities."

In 1710 he went to England to recover his father's estate, and was kindly received by Sir Basil Dixwell.—The said estate had not been confiscated. It was doubtless secured from confiscations by its being shewn, that it was held, at least in part, by the regicide in trust for his brother's children. It appears by the indenture of 1682, that the regicde, before his leaving England, had made a settlement and transfer of all

his

his estates to his nephews, subject however to "revocation." He made this revocation indeed in 1682, above twenty years after: yet in 1660, or at the time of the seizure and confiscation of the estates of the regicides, no such revocation appearing, the estate must at that time have been adjudged in law as vesting in the nephews, especially considering the trust: and also that he being attainted of treason, a subsequent revocation by him must be barred. The trust as well as assignment, and especially both conjunctly, would have been sufficient to prevent the confiscation in 1660 or 1661; and the subsequent revocation, being perhaps a nullity in law, must have prevented a recovery in 1710. And it is probable, that Mr. John Dixwell, upon advising with counsel learned in the law, might find it their opinion, that the attainder and abdication would be adjudged ever after to disenable the regicide from making a legal revocation. Whereupon the estate must be left to vest in the possessors. Whether for these or other reasons, yet it is certain, that Mr. Dixwell returned without the recovery of the estate. And yet he does not seem to have given up this matter, for he afterwards intended another voyage for its recovery, after Sir Basil's death, as he had promised or encouraged him to make a son, whom he should and did name Basil, his heir. This

may

may induce us to give some attention to a tradition, narrated to me by one person in New-Haven, whose mother knew Dixwell the regicide, and who is from her possessed of much of the Dixwell history; in which may suggest, that the reasons for the nullification of the revocation I have mentioned, did not in fact operate so strongly, even in Queen Ann's time, as I have represented; but that truly in 1710 the matter was settled with Sir Basil, in some good measure to the satisfaction of Mr. Dixwell, though he did not then recover the full possession of the family estate. I shall state the tradition as I received it from this person, as derived from Mr. Kilby: that Dixwell's papers and all the documents were committed to Mr. Agent Kilby, who was empowered to the purpose.—That while in England, he communicated them first to a son-in-law of Sir Basil's, a lawyer, who had married Sir Basil's daughter, and only child, who became convinced and satisfied that the estate was recoverable. But as the Knight was aged and would resent the motion, it was concluded the son should first open the matter to Sir Basil: upon doing which, it is said, that the Knight, as was expected, stormed, and was in a great rage, asserting, that he was the rightful and lawful owner of the estate. Learned counsel in the law were consulted, and the result was, that the right heir

was in New-England, and was recoverable, especially in the moderate days of the Hanoverian family. Upon which Sir Basil was softened, and acceded to a compromise. And that by an indenture, or writing, signed by Sir Basil, it was agreed with Mr. Kilby, that Sir Basil should enjoy the estate during his life, and after his death it should come to the heirs in New-England; but that, on Mr. Kilby's return to America, the heir was dead: this heir was Basil Dixwell, son of Elder Dixwell. This is the tradition, perhaps mistaken in some circumstances, and imperfect as to others. If the matter was really brought to this crisis, it would not seem that the death of Basil in 1746, would prevent the descent and succession of the estate, but that it is open to this day, it not being confiscated; for although Basil died without issue, yet his brother John survived him. This story was told by Mr. Agent Kilby himself, who resided some time at New-Haven, about 1760, and who then proposed erecting a monument over Dixwell's grave.

Elder Dixwell, who settled at Boston, married Miss Mary Prout of New-Haven, Sept. 1, 1708, by whom he had the following children, born in Boston:

Basil Dixwell, born July 7, 1711. Ob. 1764.

John

John Dixwell, born 1718. Ob. 1749.

Elizabeth Dixwell, born 1716. Living 1793.

Inoculation for the small-pox was introduced at Boston, for the first time, in 1721; the same year that, through the recommendation of Lady Montague, it was first introduced into England from Constantinople. It is the tradition in the family of Prout here, that Mrs. Dixwell was in the first experiment, and died in inoculation. Mr. Dixwell married again, and himself died 1724, leaving three orphans, all children by the Prout venter. Thereupon their uncle, John Prout, Esq. took those orphans home to New-Haven, and became their guardian. Madam Prout, his mother, took care of John; Mrs. Mansfield of New-Haven, his aunt, took care of Basil; and Elizabeth was taken into the family of Mrs. Christophers, his aunt, at New-London.

Mr. Basil was placed with a goldsmith at Boston; settled at Providence; entered the army 1745; and died unmarried, and without issue, at Louisburg, 1746.

Mr. John Dixwell, his brother, was put to live with a brazier in Boston, where he settled in business, and entered into trade, and prospered. He married Miss Hunt of Watertown, and died in Boston 1749. Of three children,

Mary

Mary only survived to maturity, and married Mr. Samuel Hunt, preceptor of the grammar-school in Boston.

The daughter, Miss Elizabeth Dixwell, who was educated by her aunt Christophers at New-London, is now living there, 1793, aged 76; the widow relict of Mr. Joseph Lathrop, of New-London, married April 22, 1739, by whom she had four sons, and three daughters.

Elizabeth Lathrop, born Jan. 23, 1740.
Joseph Lathrop, born Dec. 11, 1741. Died
John Lathrop, born June 7, 1743. No issue.
Mary Lathrop, born Feb. 3, 1744.
Joseph Lathrop, born Sept. 16, 1747.
Sarah Lathrop, born Jan. 30, 1752.
Dixwell Lathrop, born July 29, 1753. Issue 8 children.

Mrs. Lathrop tells me, that about 1745, or 48 years ago, upon a solicitation of some friends here, Sir Basil Dixwell sent over a gratuity in monies to the family of Dixwell here, of which she received 50*l.* for her share, perhaps equal to 20*l.* sterling.

I subjoin a letter of Mrs. Caruthers, an aged grand daughter of Judge Dixwell, now living at Bennington, 1793, aged 83; with three affidavits, and two other letters from the Rev. Mr. Pierpont, and the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, procured for me by the Rev. Dr. Belknap of Boston from Mr. Samuel Hunt, who married Mary, the

the last branch of the Dixwell family in Boston: all which may confirm and illustrate the history of Judge Dixwell.

" SIR, Bennington, April 26, 1793.

" I received your letter of the 16th of February last, and have attended to all the matter of information, which you have suggested. I find it is not in my power to give you the certainty of information required. I am now 83 years of age, and not expecting to be interrogated upon the subject you have mentioned, I have not been particular in early life of refreshing my memory with the history of my family. I perfectly remember my grandmother Dixwell, who after my grandfather's death lived with my mother until she died. When this event happened, I was eighteen years of age.

" I remember of hearing her mention, that my grandfather, when he came to America, was a single man, and that he had neither brother nor sister living: that there were two persons from England, who were his friends (whether they came with him to Boston, or after him, I do not remember): that he staid with them at Hadley about six weeks.

" He communicated to my grandmother, long before his death, his real name and character. Mr. Pierpont was with him in his last sickness; and mentioned to him, he was apprehensive, that

that he was struck with death. He observed, that it did not surprise him, he was prepared, and should meet death as a welcome messenger; and that after his death, if he would examine certain papers in his chest, he would find his real name and character. This leads me to think Mr. Pierpont was not acquainted with his real name, until the death of my grandfather *, although my grandmother was well apprized of it.

" I can give no information of Goffe and Whalley, as to their age, or the time of their death; although I have heard, as you mention in your letter, they died at Hadley; but I cannot say from whence I had this information. What I have related, as from my grandmother, I have in perfect remembrance.

" My uncle, John Dixwell, went to England in the reign of Queen Anne. He did not obtain any thing. He intended going a second time, but did not. One Basil Dixwell, a relation of my grandfather, told my uncle, that if he ever had issue a son, and would call him Basil, he would make him his heir. He then had a daughter, Molly, who died very young; afterwards he had a son, whom he called Basil. He never went to England, but died unmarried in 1746.

* Mr. Pierpont knew certainly who he was in 1683.

" My

"My uncle had all his grandfather's papers. It is very probable the papers are with some one of the family. His children are all dead, unless it be Elizabeth, who married a Mr. Lathrop, and lived at New-London. She is a widow, and was living when I left Middletown in 1778. Should you write to her, or her family, it is possible you may obtain the necessary papers.

"As to the property my grandfather may have left, I am apprehensive time has changed the lawful owners. I have no expectation of receiving any part of it for myself or children. But should you, Sir, receive any information on this subject, or obtain any clue to the history of Judge Dixwell, that would enable me to give you any further information, you do me a kindness in communicating it to your aged, but

"Very obedient

And humble servant,

"*To Ezra Stiles.*" "MARY CARUTHERS.

"*New-Haven County Court, Feb.* 4, 1705-6.

"Upon the desire of Mrs. Bathsheba Dixwell, it is ordered by this court, that these following depositions be entered, viz.

"New-Haven, Oct. 31, 1705.

"Then personally appeared before me, John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assist-

ants of her Majesty's corporation of Connecticut, in New-England, and justice of peace, William Jones, Esq. late deputy governor of said corporation, aged eighty and one, and made oath as followeth, viz.

" That the said William Jones, deponent, sundry years, between sixteen hundred and forty, and sixteen hundred and fifty, and in the time of the sitting of the Long Parliament, as it was then called, was resident at Westminster; and so had certain knowledge of many noblemen and gentlemen, then conversant in court, and particularly had certain knowledge of John Dixwell, Esq.; and that the said Dixwell was a member of the said parliament, sitting in Westminster, and had in honourable esteem then: and afterwards the said deponent transporting himself and family to New-Haven, in New-England, was informed of a gentleman of manifest great education, who, in other parts of the country, endeavoured to lead a retired and obscure life, who called himself James Davids. The deponent further affirms, that this gentleman, called James Davids, removing from one place to another, afterwards came to sojourn in said New-Haven, whereby the deponent had opportunity of personal acquaintance and frequent conversation with him; and certainly knew well the said James Davids to be the

above-named John Dixwell, whom he had often seen and known in Westminster: and that for some reasons he saw cause to abscond in these remote parts; and under the name of James Davids, this gentleman, after some time, married a virtuous maiden, Mrs. Bathsheba How, by whom he had three children, as appears of record in said New-Haven, one of which died in infancy; two, named John and Mary, are now living, and of adult age, reputed and known of all the vicinity to be the lawful children of said James Davids, alias John Dixwell.—This deponent furthermore affirmeth, that some time before the decease of said gentleman, which was in the year of our Lord 1689, in his last and long sickness, he uncovered himself, and made it known to his friends, that his true and original name was John Dixwell; and that he had been a member of said Long Parliament, and that for sundry reasons he had concealed himself, and changed his name to James Davids: so that hereupon his relict and children have passed ever since under the name of Dixwell. The said deponent doth also affirm and testify, that the bearer hereof, Mr. John Dixwell, is the only surviving son of the aforesaid James Davids, alias John Dixwell.

"The above affidavit taken the date first above mentioned, per me,

"JOHN ALLING, Assistant."

"New-Haven, Jan. 1, 1705-6.

"Then personally appeared before me, John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assistants of her Majesty's corporation of Connecticut, in New-England, and justice of peace, the Rev. James Pierpont, pastor of said New-Haven, aged forty-six, and gave oath as followeth, viz.

"That the said James Pierpont, deponent, being, in the year of our Lord God sixteen hundred and eighty-four, called by the people of New-Haven to the pastoral work, observed among them an aged person of manifest great education, who called himself James Davids, but was generally supposed to be of another name; his observable wisdom and great knowledge in the English law, state policy, and European affairs, made his conversation very valuable to said deponent, and rendered said gentleman honourable with all that knew him. Yet said deponent observed this gentleman studiously to avoid the public observation and employment. After many conjectures who this gentleman should be, the said deponent presumed he was truly John Dixwell; which, on a

fit

fit occasion, suggesting to this gentleman in private, he seemed conceding thereto, but obliged to secrecy in that matter. Having been married, as said deponent was informed, to a virtuous maiden, called Bathshua How, this gentleman had by her three children; one son, called John, the bearer hereof, and two daughters, one of which, called Mary, is now living. The said deponent further affirmeth it, that when Sir Edmund Andross took the government of Connecticut, the said Davids, alias Dixwell, brought sundry papers (as he said of importance) sealed up, which he requested the deponent to take into safe custody, and not to suffer the seals to be broken till after said Dixwell's decease, declaring it was not so safe under present changes those writings should be found in his hand. The deponent also affirmeth, that the said gentleman, falling into a dropsy in the year sixteen hundred eighty and nine, whereof he at length died, sent after said deponent, and sundry times fully declared himself to be John Dixwell, of the Priory of Folkestone, in Kent, Esq. and brother to Mark Dixwell, Esq. of Broom, in the parish of Oakham in Kent; whose relict was afterwards the Lady Oxinden, one of whose daughters was Mrs. Elizabeth Westrow, with whom said John Dixwell held correspondence until his

death: he furthermore declared he had beena member of the Long Parliament in the reign of Charles I. and for what reasons he had concealed himself under the name of James Davids, and that his proper name was John Dixwell, by which his relict and children are since called.

"The above affidavit taken the date first above mentioned, per me,

"JOHN ALLING,
"Assistant, and Justice of the Peace."

"New-Haven, January 1, 1705-6.

"Then personally appeared before me, John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assistants of her Majesty's corporation of Connecticut, in New-England, and justice of the peace, Mr. James Heaton, of said New-Haven, aged seventy, and made oath as followeth, viz.

"That the said James Heaton, deponent, living next door to one Mr. Ling, there came, as said deponent observed, a gentleman from some more obscure parts of the country, to sojourn with said Ling: said gentleman called himself James Davids; his clothing, deportment, and manifest great education and accomplishments, in a little time, caused many to conjecture the said gentleman was no ordinary person, but for some great reasons sought to conceal both his proper name and his character; but people could not be determined in their thoughts until said gentleman fell

fell sick of a dropsy, whereof he died in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred eighty and nine. In that long sickness, having occasion, in preparation for his death, to sign and seal sundry writings, he was pleased to send for the said deponent among some others, since deceased, to sign, as witnesses, to said writings; when he manifested himself to be by name John Dixwell, and so signed his said writings. This gentleman married with Bathshua How, by whom he had three children, one son and two daughters. One of the daughters died in infancy; his son, named John, who is the bearer hereof, and his daughter Mary, are now living, and pass under the name of Dixwell.

"The above affidavit taken the date first above mentioned, per me,

"JOHN ALLING,

"Assistant and Justice of the Peace."

Extracted from New-Haven county court records, vol. ii. p. 208.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Pierpont to Sir Basil Dixwell.

"New-Haven, May 4, 1708.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"I have the honour of yours to Mr. Henry Newman, of September 4, 1707, in answer to his of the second of that month, wherein your

Honour doth Colonel John Dixwell the justice to declare him, in the management of your father's estates, a very honest gentleman and faithful friend to him. Many papers of his in my hand manifest the truth of that character; that he deserved the same, and much honourable regard, his surviving observers cannot forget. They were doubtless mistaken who informed your Honour he died in Switzerland. Anno Domini 1684 I was called to the pastoral work in New-Haven, in the colony of Connecticut, New-England; quickly observed an aged gentleman, who called himself James Davids: his accomplishments and accurate gentility shewed him to be no ordinary person. People generally supposed there were great reasons of his reservedness: they made their guess, but could not find him out. The late Hon. William Jones, Deputy-governor, knew his person at Westminster, but could not recover his true name; nor was it certainly known till his last sickness, which happened A. D. 1689, and, as near as I can learn, anno ætatis 84. His disease was a dropsy; he lay long before it overthrew him: during which time, he often sent for me, and fully declared himself to be John Dixwell, of the Priory of Folkestone, in Kent, Esq. and brother of Mark Dixwell, Esq. of Broom, in the parish of Barham, in Kent, whose relict was afterwards, if I mistake not, the Lady Oxinden,

den, one of whose daughters was Madam Elizabeth Westrow, who under the name of Elizabeth Boyes corresponded by letters with him till his death. He declared also that he had been a member of the Long Parliament, in the reign of King Charles I. and gave the reasons wherefore he had concealed himself in sundry places, and under the name of James Davids. He left sundry writings sealed, with order they should not be opened till after his death, which accordingly were, and exhibited in the office of probates: by which doth appear, that he must be truly the above-said John Dixwell; that he was not only a most honest and faithful friend, as your Honour most gratefully acknowledgeth; but advanced great sums for the benefit of Sir Basil Dixwell's estate during his minority, which doubtless he would with suitable acknowledgments have reimbursed, if his kind and good uncle had not been unhappily necessitated to withdraw. Much more on this head is left under his hand and seal. Your Honour's grandfather died, I suppose, about 164?, left three sons, Basil, Heardson, and William: the two younger sons died inadult. Elizabeth married with Thomas Westrow, who died and left her with six small children. Many other particulars I could offer for your Honour's further assurance, that your Honour's uncle died under our observation.

servation. He left two children, John and Mary Dixwell, whose education hath been as good as our country and their small estate would allow; and truly their proficiency, honourable exemplary deportment, almost shews what root they sprang from, and declare them worthy of the name of Dixwell. At the request of Mrs. Dixwell, and her son, Mr. John, with other gentlemen and friends, I have presumed to give your Honour the trouble of this long letter; but the satisfaction of finding some branches of your honourable family and name in New-England, who want little save their father's estate, or your Honour's favourable regards, to render them valuable in Old England as they already be in New-England. If in any thing may contribute to your further satisfaction, shall readily receive your commands, and with utmost truth and integrity, worthy my own name and profession, shall shew that I am,

"Honourable Sir,

"Your Honour's most obedient,

"Humble servant,

"JAMES PIERPONT.

"*To Sir Basil Dixwell.*"

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Doctor Cotton Mather to Sir Basil Dixwell.

" SIR, Boston, New-England, Nov. 13, 1710.

" From remote America there now waits upon you the only son of one who was an uncle and a father to your honourable father; a word in which I perceive your Honour already sensible of a very moving and charming oratory; with an irresistible force, and a pathos beyond any thing that we can see in the oration for Ligarius, it pleads for a most affectionate notice to be taken of him, the son of such a father!

" Sir Basil has too wise and great a soul to let any old forgotten, dubious, political consideration extinguish his affection for the memory of so excellent an uncle. The temptations of that day, when he was on the stage, were such on both sides, that all generous and compassionate minds easily bury, in a just oblivion, the differences thereby occasioned. Alas, how many changes and thwartings have you seen since that day! enough to cool the mutual resentments of what was done in that day. Impartial posterity will confess there were brave men on both sides; braver than any which espoused either Pompey's cause, or Cæsar's. Our Dixwell was one of them; ours, in regard of his dying with us, and worthy

worthy to be yours in regard of our kind aspect on his offspring. He had excellencies that render him worthy of esteem, even from enemies; how much more from a kinsman of so polished and sublimed a character, that he perfectly understands how far the ties of nature are strengthened by good quality and superior education.

"Though your uncle be dead, yet, *non totus recessit, reliquit enim filium.* Do but cast an eye on this his only son; look upon him, Sir; his personal merit will speak for him: he is one of ingenuity; he has a genius elevated above the common level of the country where he had his birth and breeding; there is in him a modest, but yet a sprightly soul; thoughtful, and cautious enough too; and a natural good sense, agreeable to the stock of which he comes: a little cultivation, which the place of his nativity afforded him not, would have made him extraordinary.

"He had no share in the confusions which disturbed the middle of the former century, and he is pure blank to all the modern disturbances on your side the water: he forfeits nothing on those accounts; yea, I will venture to say this of him, though he has lived for near twice seven years in my neighbourhood, I never heard that he did one ill or base thing in his life.

"He comes not over because he is in any wants or

or straits; but Sir Basil is known in these parts of the world, and well spoken of. It is known that as he is able he is willing to do good unto many, much more to his own kinsman! He is esteemed a person of honour, figure, and virtue. 'T is believed it will particularly shine in his goodness to his own kinsman! People of the best fashion here have advised him to intermit his other business for half a year, and wait upon his kinsman and see; it is in obedience to their advice that he does what he does. His kinsman's reputation will be advanced in these distant colonies by doing for him.

"And among those who have encouraged him, from an high opinion we have of your generosity, be pleased, Sir, to allow him to remember himself, who is your Honour's unknown, but real and humble servant,

"COTTON MATHER."

Some Account of the Family of Dixwell, taken from sundry Papers and Fragments now in the Possession of Mr. Samuel Hunt, by Jeremy Belknap. Boston, July 15, 1793.

The family of Dixwell was originally of Cotton, in Warwickshire, where it was subsisting in 1733, in the person of Sir William Dixwell.

Colonel John Dixwell, a member of the Long Parliament, in the reign of Charles I. brother of Mark

Mark Dixwell, of Broom, in Kent, came into New-England at the restoration of Charles II. (suppose about 1660). His style was, John Dixwell, of the Priory of Folkestone, in Kent, Esq.; but for convenience, assumed the name of James Davids. By this name he was married, October 23, 1677, to Bathshua How, at New-Haven, before James Bishop, assistant.

Under the assumed name of James Davids he corresponded with his niece, Elizabeth Westrow, in London, who assumed the name of Elizabeth Boyce.

His other correspondents were Frances Prince of Amsterdam, Jo. Du Bois, London *, Thomas Westmoe, London †, Humphrie Davie, Boston. From this last he received monies remitted by his friends in England: the following is a copy of one of the receipts:

"Received now and formerly, of Mr. Hum. Davie, by the direction of Mr. Increase Mather, thirty pounds, New-England money, by the order of Madam Elizabeth Westrow, in England. I have signed two receipts for this sum, of this date, for fear of miscarriage.—14th June 1686."

The letters from his friends are directed, sometimes to Mr. James Davids, merchant, in New-Haven; others omit this addition. They contained

* Suppose the husband of Elizabeth Westrow.

† Suppose the son of Elizabeth Westrow.

tained chiefly domestic and public news, intermixed with many pious reflections. One of them invites him to Holland, 1689, but it did not arrive till after his death.

"John Dixwell, Esq. died at New-Haven, March 18, 1689, aged 82.—*New-Haven Records.*

"Test. JOHN ALLING, Recorder."

John Dixwell, son of John Dixwell, Esq. was born 1680-1, March 6; was married to Mary Prout, of New-Haven, 1708; removed to Boston, and was chosen a ruling elder of the New North church, 1717; went to England in 1710; corresponded afterwards with Sir Basil Dixwell; died in 1724, intestate. It appears from the church records, that he was a man of great worth, and highly esteemed.

His children were, Basil Dixwell, born 1711, bred a silversmith, then went into trade, resided at Providence, in Rhode Island; never married; went as lieutenant in the expedition to Cape Breton, and there died, 1746. Elizabeth Dixwell, born 1716; married Joseph Lathrop, of New-London, mariner. John Dixwell, born 1718; served an apprenticeship with William Tyler, Esq. merchant, of Boston; married Mary Hunt, of Boston; died 1749, intestate; left two children, and his wife pregnant; his son John died in three weeks after him, as did his posthumous

mous child: his daughter Mary survived; married Mr. Samuel Hunt, preceptor at the grammar-school in Boston; died in 1783, leaving four children, three sons, Samuel, John, and George, and a daughter, Susanna, who were living in 1793.

It should seem, by Mr. Pierpont's letter, that Colonel Dixwell's true name was unknown to him and Governor Jones till he was on his death-bed. It may be observed, that it was, in fact, certainly known to them, and some others, years before this; to Mr. Pierpont, in 1685, when he recorded his admission into the church by his true name; to Clarke and the two Allsups, in 1682, witnesses of the indentures of that date, signed by Dixwell himself, with his true, as well as assumed name: to others also, witnesses to other instruments, signed Dixwell. And the manner in which he speaks of Governor Jones and his lady, to whom he confided his children in his will, denotes an acquaintance and familiarity, implying, that, however at first he could not recollect his name, though he did his person, yet, that he was perfectly acquainted with both his name and character long before his death. In truth, he knew it long before Mr. Pierpont came to New-Haven.

Both the names and characters of Dixwell and the other regicides, with their concealments,

were all along duly known to some few persons of confidence. The Honourable Mr. Secretary Wyllys, now living, venerable for age, and respectable for family, and every personal merit, has often told me, and now, while I am writing, tells me, that his father had seen Mr. Dixwell. His father, son of Governor George Wyllys, was the Honourable Hezekiah Wyllys, an assistant, who, after long improvement in public life, died 1741, aged 70. The Secretary has often heard him say, that he knew Mr. Dixwell; that, when a boy, he waited upon his father, then an assistant also from Hartford to the general court at New-Haven (say about 1682), when they lodged at Governor Jones's, during the session of the assembly; and one morning, the father, in a walk, took the son and carried him with him to a house on the outside of the town, when a grave old man received them at the door, to whom his father paid the greatest respect and honour, at which he much wondered. His father left him to play at the door, while he went into the house with this aged person, and was gone so long that the son was tired with waiting: at length, his father came out, and returning to his lodgings, as they walked along, he asked the son who he thought that old gentleman was. He said, he did not know: upon which he further told him, it was Mr. Dixwell. This was,

doubtless, with design, that the son might afterwards recollect that he had seen Mr. Dixwell, when in future time he might hear him spoken of. This must have been several years before Dixwell's death. In fact, his true name and character were perfectly known to Mr. Wyllys and some others, long before it was formally published by him on his death-bed, to Mr. Jones and Mr. Pierpont, which Mr. Dixwell designedly then did, in an open manner, though among others, to persons who had been well acquainted with it years before in a secret manner. It is not to be doubted, but that at this interview he was benefited by Mr. Wyllys's secret liberality.

Thus I have finished the history of the Generals Whalley and Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell, who found an asylum in the city of New-Haven, and at Hadley, and in other parts of New-England, during an exile and concealment of twenty-nine years. All three were of King Charles's judges; all three of the parliamentary and Oliverian army; all three members of parliament; two of them of Oliver's House of Lords.

LETTER

LETTER

From Mr. Justice BLACKSTONE *to Mr. Justice* GOULD.

MR. Blackstone takes the liberty most respectfully to beg the favour of Mr. Justice Gould, to inform him whether the following is a correct statement of Wilkes's case on the question of forgery.

"Wilkes drew a bill in a fictitious name, on a fictitious drawee, in favour of a real payee, in payment for goods sold. The man was indicted for a fraud, and acquitted. Mr. Justice Gould, before whom he was tried, stated the case afterwards to the judges, who were all of opinion that it was forgery within stat. 2 George II. c. 25. He was accordingly indicted again for forgery, having drawn another bill under the same circumstances, and tried before Mr. Justice Yates, at Bodmin, Aug. 1767, but again acquitted."

Mr. Blackstone hopes he has not been too presumptuous in thus intruding a second time on Mr. Justice Gould's goodness, which nothing but an anxiety to perform the task which he has undertaken with as much accuracy as possible, would have induced him to have done.

King's Bench Walk, Temple,
Tuesday, April 12.

ROBERT COOK.

By the late Doctor CHARLES SMITH.

ROBERT Cook, a kind of Pythagorean philosopher, lived at Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, where he had a considerable estate: for many years before he died he neither ate fish, flesh, milk, butter, &c. nor drank any kind of fermented liquor, nor wore woollen clothes, nor produce of any animal. During the troubles in King James's time, he removed into England, and lived some time at Ipswich, but returned to Cappoquin, where he died about the year 1726. In 1691, he published the following paper, which will afford the reader some idea of his tenets.

Several Questions asked of Robert Cook, what is his Religion; and why he did not eat Fish, Flesh, Milk, Butter, &c. nor drink Wine, nor Beer, but Water, nor wear woollen Clothes, but Linen, and by him answered as follows.

Query 1. What opinion or belief are you of? and what is your religion, seeing you are not of any sect or gathered people?

Answ. I am a Christian and a Protestant[a], and my religion is to fear God[b], and to keep his commandments[c]; to keep my soul undefiled from the worldly evil nature[d]. I abhor the evil

[a] Micah, vi. 8. [b] Eccles. xii. 13. [c] James, i. 27. [d] James, i. 27.

and

and love the good[a], and have fellowship therein with all, in every sect, or gathered or scattered people.

Query 2. By what rule is it possible to keep God's commandments, whereby the soul may be kept undefiled?

Answ. By the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ[b], a measure of it being given to me and to every man, to be by it guided, to profit withal[c]. This is that law of the Spirit of life in man, which reproves for sin, and leads into all truth[d]; it reproves for every vain thought, and every evil inclination, before it can come into bad words, or wicked works[e]; and as this divine swift witness, the principle of life, is hearkened to, and the soul takes heed, watching continually to it to receive power[f]; and being obedient thereunto, abstaining from every appearance of evil; it saves man from committing sin, because he is born, and led, and preserved by the Spirit of God, viz. Christ Jesus, which is the power of God in man, which overcometh and keepeth from, and leads out of all evil inclination.

[a] Acts, x. 34, 35. 1 Peter, i. 1. [b] 1 Cor. xii. 7. [c] John, i. 9. 1 John, ii. 27. John, xvi. 8, 13. [d] Jer. xiii. 33. Heb. viii. 10, 11. John, vi. 45. Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 8. 2 Peter, i. 9. [e] Malach. iii. 5. Ephes. iv. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Job, xxxii. 8. 1 Cor. iii. 16. [f] Psalm iv. 4. 1 John, iii. 9, 24. 1 John, v. 18. Mat. i. 21. John, i. 12. Rom. viii. 2, 11. 1 Thes. v. 22. Gal. ii. 20.

Query 3. Why do you deny yourself to kill any animal creature, and not to eat fish, flesh, eggs, butter, cheese, milk, or any animal, or the produce of any animal, your food and raiment you use being of nothing but only the produce of vegetatives, that grow, or may grow, in the country wherein you live, as corn, herbs, roots, and fruits of trees, &c. or preparations of corn and water for your food; and your refusing to drink wine, or strong drink; only water for your drink, and linen and other vegetatives for your clothes?

Answ. Let every man do as he is persuaded in his own mind[a], so as it be innocent, and not sin; and my practice in doing according to my conscience and belief, that sought not to kill, is very innocent and harmless, which cannot give any just offence to any man, nor other creature; and my strict rule in it[b], keeping out of wrath and violence[c], brings me forward on my way to keep my conscience void of offence towards God and towards man[d]. And whereas I cannot kill without wounding my conscience, in acting against my mind, doing doubtingly, condemned in my very thought[e]: therefore, rather than I will offend that innocent life in me, I refuse any food or raiment that may come from any beast,

[a] Rom. iv. 5. [b] Gen. vi. 5, 11. [c] Acts, xxiv. 16.
[d] Rom. iv. 23. [e] Rom. xiv. 21.

or

or other animal creature[a]; and because wine and strong drink are hot in operation, and intoxicating, and, I think, as needless to me as tobacco[b]; and I, by experience, finding that water for drink, and pulse, viz. corn and other vegetatives for food, and linen and other vegetatives for raiment, is cleanest, and wholesomest, and warm, and strengthening, and nourishing, and healthful; I choose to use them, and so am cleared from most of the cumbers, labours, and toils, both of body and mind, a few things being sufficient, in this my way of living, and brings easily into contentedness and true thankfulness with God.

Eusebius his writing relates, that the holy apostle, called James the Just, the brother of our Lord, ate not fish, nor flesh, nor drank wine, nor strong drink, nor wore woollen clothes, but linen.

At the end of this was printed a long prayer, or contemplation, too tedious to be inserted. It is remarkable of this man, that he lived to a good old age, being upwards of fourscore when he died. He had several other peculiarities, as his choosing to keep white cows instead of black, and had his coach drawn by white horses. A fox which had killed several of his poultry, being

[a] Jer. xxxv. 6. Prov. iii. 4. Judges, xxxiv. Luke, i. 5.
[b] Gen. xxix. Dan. xii. 3, 4, 5, 6. Dan. xiv. 23.

racter, and were esteemed by their neighbours, persons of blameless, irreproachable lives.

But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behmen, which he put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family on earth who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate influence of his Spirit, or by tokens from Heaven. At length, it came to open visions and revelations: God raised up a prophet among them like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that, as in the days of Noah, he was determined to destroy all from off the face of it,

except

except one family, whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body; and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, "Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife; and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before; and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin: so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed be preserved pure and undefiled in it." At first, the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from Heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately, for his wife, who, without farther ceremony, took the damsel and deflowered her. Thus, for some time, he continued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

Those deluded wretches were so far possessed

with a false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After a long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for the penalty of the laws upon them: but by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife of the prophet obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued for bringing him before the justice to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being apprehensive of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them, at the same time, that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly

ingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated; and therefore Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect his constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party.

The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the house, and afterwards forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charlestown.

At the court of general sessions, held in September 1725, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned. Alas! miserable creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them!

They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them in all truth; they knew it, and felt it; but this Spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their

their last breath. During their trial, they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming, that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court, in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but pleaded their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted that they had done nothing in either case but by his express command.

As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bringing them to a penitent disposition; Alexander Garden, the episcopal minister of Charlestown, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended these condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain to them the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain: their motto was, "Answer him not a word; who is he that shall presume to teach them who have the Spirit of God speaking inwardly

inwardly in their souls?" In all they had done, they said, they had obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion; but God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up the third day. These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and, notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution, they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day.

With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried; and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead; but being disappointed, they became, or, at least, seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned; yet, not long afterwards, one of them relapsed into the same snare, murdered an innocent person without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him to do so. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty

guilty of murder, and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, acknowledged with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the Gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

Thus ended that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives, one was killed, two were murdered, and four executed for the murders: a signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals.

INVOCATION TO MAY.

By GEORGE DYER.

GO, April, go, capricious thing,
With vernal smile and wint'ry frown;
Oft have I call'd thee Child of Spring,
And deck'd thy locks with simple crown.

Yet

Yet go, inconstant as the wind,
And chilling, 'mid thy amorous play;
A nymph more constant I must find,
And therefore call on lovely May.

Wake all thy flowers, and bid them wear,
O queen of sweets, their brightest dies;
Spread the full blossom of the year,
And let us view no fickle skies.

And tell thy minstrel of the grove
Her melting descant to prolong;
This day I give to wedded love,
And I would ask her purest song.

For lovers tried and true, O May,
Of thee I claim these honours due;
Bless with thy smiles this favourite day,
And I will consecrate it too.

But if e'en thou, fair queen, art found,
As thou, alas! art sometimes seen,
To strew thy blossoms on the ground,
With frolic hand and froward mien;

Yet spare, O spare this genial day,
Let no rude blight disturb its bliss;
Or, if thou must the wanton play,
Choose any other day than this.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THOMAS PETT, THE MISER,

Late of Clare Market.

THOMAS Pett, who died in Clifford's Passage, on the 2d of June 1803, was a native of Warwickshire. At the age of ten years he came to London with a solitary shilling in his pocket. As he had neither friends nor relations in the capital, he was indebted to the humanity of an old woman that sold pies for a morsel of bread, till he could procure himself a crust. In the course of a few days he was engaged as an errand-boy by a tallow-chandler. Mrs. Dip, a lady of London mould, however, could not reconcile herself to his rustic manners and awkward gait; so that she dismissed him one cold winter's evening, with this observation: "Your master hired you in my absence, and I'll pack you off in his." The good husband did not desert Tom; he found him out, and bound him apprentice to a butcher, in the Borough of Southwark. He behaved so well during his apprenticeship, that his master recommended him, when he was out of his time, to a brother of the cleaver in Clare Market, as a journeyman. Tom's maxim was, that honesty was not the shortest road to wealth, but that it was by far the surest.

surest. For the first five years he was engaged at twenty-five pounds a year, meat and drink. The accumulation of money, and the abridgment of expense, were the two sole objects of his thoughts. His expenses were reduced to these three heads: lodging, clothing, and washing: as to the first, he fixed on a back room on the second floor, with one window, that occasionally admitted a straggling sunbeam. As to dress, every article was second-hand, nor was he choice in the colour or quality; jocosely observing, when he was twitted on his garb, that, according to Solomon, there was nothing new under the sun; and that, as to colour, it was a mere matter of fancy; and that that was the best which stuck longest to its integrity: then, as to washing, he used to say a man did not deserve a shirt that would not wash it himself; and that the only fault he had to find with Lord North was the duty he imposed on soap. There was one expense, however, that lay heavy on his mind, and always robbed him of many a night's sleep, and that was, shaving; he often lamented that he had not learnt to shave himself; he used to console himself by hoping, that beards would one day be in fashion, and that even the Bond Street loungers would be driven to wear artificial ones. He made a promise one night when he was very thirsty, that as soon as he had accumulated a

thousand pounds, he would treat himself to a pint of porter every Saturday. Fortune soon put it in his power to perform this promise, and he continued to observe it till the additional duty was laid on porter; he then sunk to half a pint, as he thought that sufficient for any man that did not wish to get drunk, and, of course, die in a workhouse. If he heard of an auction in the neighbourhood, he was sure to run for a catalogue, and when he had collected a number together, he used to sell them for waste paper. When he was first told that the Bank was restricted from paying in specie, he shook loudly, as Klopstock the poet says, took to his bed, and could not be prevailed on to taste a morsel, or wet his lips, till he was assured that all was right. On Sundays, after dinner, he used to lock himself up in his room, and amuse himself with reading an old newspaper, or writing rhimes, many of which he left behind him on slips of paper. The following will serve as a specimen of his talents in this way:

On hearing that Small-Beer was raised.

They 've rais'd the price of table drink;
What is the reason, do you think?
The tax on malt, the cause I hear:
But what has malt to do with table-beer?

He was never known, even in the depth of the

the coldest winter, to light a fire in his room, or to go to bed by candle-light.

He was a great friend to good cheer at the expense of another. Every man, said he, ought to eat when he can get it—an empty sack cannot stand.

If his thirst at any time got the better of his avarice, and water was not at hand, he would sometimes venture to step into a public house, and call for a pennyworth of beer. On those trying occasions, he was always sure to sit in the darkest corner of the tap-room, in order that he might drink in every thing that was said with thirsty ear. He was seldom or ever known to utter a word, unless Bonaparte or a parish dinner were mentioned, and then he would draw a short contrast between French kickshaws and the roast beef and plum-pudding of Old England, which he called the staple commodity of life. Once on a time, he was prompted, by what dæmon I cannot tell, to purchase a *pin* of small beer; but the moment he locked it up in his closet, he repented, tore the hair out of his wig, and threw the key out of the window, lest he should be tempted, in some unlucky moment, to make too free with it.

Thus far of the life of Thomas Pett, whose pulse, for the last twenty years of his life, rose and fell with the funds; who never lay

down or rose that he did not bless the first inventor of compound interest, whose constant saying was, that gold was the clouded cane of youth, and the crutch of old age; who, for forty-two years, lived in Clare Market as journeyman butcher; who lodged thirty years in one gloomy apartment, which was never brightened up with coal, candle-light, or the countenance of a visitant; who never treated man, woman, or child, to a glass of any kind of liquor; who never lent or borrowed a penny; who never spoke ill or well of any one; who never ate a morsel at his own expense; who never said a civil thing, as far as is known, to that part of the creation which renders life tolerable; who would not trust a washerwoman with a pocket-handkerchief; who looked on all mankind to be fools or mad, who did not pile up yellow dirt, and who wanted to bargain for a coffin half an hour before he died.

About three days before his dissolution, he was pressed by his mistress to make his will, which he at last reluctantly assented to, observing as he signed his name, that it was a hard thing that a man should sign away all his property with a stroke of a pen.

He left 2475*l.* in the three per cents, to distant relations, not one of whom he had ever seen or corresponded with.

The

The following list of his wearing apparel, &c. was taken after his death by a wag in the neighbourhood.

An old bald wig.

A hat as limber as a pancake.

Two shirts that might pass for fishing-nets.

A pair of stockings embroidered with threads of different colours.

A pair of shoes, or rather sandals.

A bedstead instead of a bed.

A toothless comb.

An almanack out of all date.

A gouty chair and a leafless table.

A looking-glass that had outlived reflection.

A leathern bag, with a captive guinea, &c. &c.

FROGS.

By Dr. WILLIAMS, *of the State of Vermont, America.*

THERE are several accounts in natural history, of toads being found in the hearts of trees, and in solid rocks, wholly enclosed and shut up from the air, and all appearance of food, and being taken alive out of such situations. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences there is an account, that, in the year 1731, a toad was found in the heart of an old oak, near Nantz, without any visible entrance to its habitation. From the

size of the tree, it was concluded, that the toad must have been confined in that situation, at least eighty or an hundred years *. We have several instances in Vermont, equally extraordinary. At Windsor, a town joining to Connecticut river, in September 1790, a living frog was dug up at the depth of nine feet from the surface of the earth. Stephen Jacobs, Esq. from whom I have this account, informs me, that the place where this frog was found, was about half a mile from the river, on the interval lands, which are annually overflowed by its waters. At Castleton, in the year 1779, the inhabitants were engaged in building a fort near the centre of the town. Digging into the earth five or six feet below the surface, they found many frogs, apparently inactive, and supposed to be dead. Being exposed to the air, animation soon appeared, and they were found to be alive and healthy. I have this account from General Clarke and a Mr. Moulton, who were present when these frogs were dug up. Upon viewing the spot, it did not appear to me that it had ever been overflowed with water, but it abounded with springs. A more remarkable instance was at Burlington upon Onion river. In the year 1788, Samuel Lane, Esq. was digging a well near his house. At the depth of twenty-five or thirty feet from the surface of the

* Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, p. 122.

earth,

earth, the labourers threw out with their shovels something which they suspected to be ground-nuts, or stones covered with earth. Upon examining these appearances, they were found to be frogs, to which the earth every where adhered. The examination was then made of the earth, in the well where they were digging; a large number of frogs were found covered with the earth, and so numerous that several of them were cut in pieces by the spades of the workmen. Being exposed to the air, they soon became active; but, unable to endure the direct rays of the sun, the most of them perished. This account is from Mr. Lane and Mr. Lawrence, one of the workmen, who were both present when the frogs were dug up. From the depth of earth with which these frogs were covered, it cannot be doubted but that they must have been covered over in the earth for many years, or, rather, centuries. The appearances denote that the place from whence these frogs were taken, was once the bottom of a channel or lake, formed by the waters of Onion river. In digging the same well, at the depth of forty-one feet and an half from the surface, the workmen found the body of a tree eighteen or twenty inches in diameter, partly rotten, but the biggest part sound. The probability is, that both tree and the frogs were once at the bottom of the channel of a river, or lake; that

that the waters of Onion river, constantly bringing down large quantities of earth, gradually raised the bottom; that by the constant increase of earth and water, the water was forced over its bounds, forming for itself a new channel or passage, in its descent into Lake Champlain. How vigorous and permanent must the principle of life be in this animal! Frogs placed in a situation in which they were perpetually supplied with moisture, and all waste and perspiration from the body prevented, preserve the powers of life from age to age! Centuries must have passed since they began to live in such a situation; and had that situation continued, nothing appears but that they would have lived for many centuries yet to come.

LINGO DRAWN FOR THE MILITIA.

NUNQUAM audivi such terrible news
As at this present *tempus* my senses confuse;
I'm drawn for a *miles*—I must go *cum Marte*,
And *comminus case* engage BONAPARTE.

Such *tempora nunquam videbant majores*,
For then their opponents had different *mores*;
But we will soon prove to the Corsican vaunter,
Though times may be chang'd—Britons never *mutantur*.

Me

Me Hercle, this Consul *non potest* be quiet,
His word must be *lex*, and when he says *Fiat*,
Quasi Deus, he thinks, we must run at his nod,
But Britons were ne'er good at running, by G—d.

Per mare, I am rather led to *opine*,
To meet British *naves* he would not incline;
Lest he should in *mare profundum* be drown'd,
Et cum alga, non lauro, his *caput* be crown'd.

But allow that this boaster in Britain could land,
Multis cum aliis at his command;
Here 's lads who will meet, ay, and properly work him,
And a hundred to one but they'll send him to *Orcum*.

Nunc let us be *amici*, join *manus et cordes*,
And use well the *vires Di boni* afford us;
Then, let nations combine—Britons never can fall,
This *multum in parvo* 's a match for them all.

SEALS.

By FRANCIS BLOMFIELD, *L. D. Rector of Tersfield, in Norfolk.*

I HAVE seen an ancient deed made by John (Camerarius, or) Chambers of Shimpling, in Norfolk, to Richard de Kentwell, clerk, and Alice his wife, and their heirs, of three acres of land in this town, witnessed by Sir Gerard de Wachesam,

sam, Knt. and others, which is remarkable for its never having any seal, and its being dated at Shimpling, in the churchyard, on Sunday next before Pentecost, anno 1294. This shews us that seals, as Lambard justly observes, were not in common use at this time, and therefore to make a conveyance the most solemn and public that could be, the deed was read to the parish after service, in the churchyard, that all might know it, and be witnesses, if occasion required. The Saxons used no seals, only signed the mark of a cross to their instruments, to which the scribe affixed their names, by which they had a double meaning; first, to denote their being Christians, and then as such to confirm it, by the symbol of their faith. The first sealed charter we meet with is that of Edward the Confessor, to Westminster Abbey, which use he brought with him from Normandy, where he was brought up, and for that reason it was approved of by the Norman Conqueror, though sealing grew into common use by degrees, the king at first only using it, then some of the nobility, after that the nobles in general, who engraved on their seals their own effigies, covered with their coat-armour; after this, the gentlemen followed, and used the arms of their family for difference sake; but about the time of Edward III. seals became of general use, and they that had no coat-

coat-armour, sealed with their own device, as flowers, birds, beasts, or whatever they chiefly delighted in, as a dog, a hare, &c.; and nothing was more common, than an invention or rebus for their names, as a swan and a ton, for Swanton, a hare, for Hare, &c.: and because very few of the commonalty could write (all learning at that time being among the religious only), the person's name was usually circumscribed on his seal, so that at once they set both their name and seal, which was so sacred a thing in those days, that one man never used another's seal, without its being particularly taken notice of in the instrument sealed; and for this reason, every one carried their seal about them, either on their rings, or on a roundell, fastened sometimes to their purse, sometimes to their girdle, nay; oftentimes where a man's seal was not much known, he procured some one in public office to affix theirs, for the greater confirmation. Thus, Hugh de Schalers (or Scales), a younger son of the Lord Scales's family, parson of Harlton in Cambridgeshire, upon his agreeing to pay the prior of Bernewell 30*s.* for the two third parts of the tithe corn due to the said prior out of several lands in his parish, because his seal was known to few, he procured the archdeacon's official to put his seal of office, for more ample confirmation; and when this was not done, nothing was

more common than for a public notary to affix his mark, which, being registered at their admission into their office, was of as public a nature as any seal could be, and of as great sanction to any instrument. Those officers being always sworn to the true execution of their office, and to affix no other mark than that they had registered, to any instrument, so their testimony could be as well known by their mark as by their name; for which reason they were called public notaries, *nota* in Latin signifying a mark, and public, because their mark was publicly registered; and their office was to be public to all that had any occasion for them to strengthen their evidence. There are few of these officers among us now, and such as we have, have so far varied from the original of their name, that they use no mark at all, only add N. P. for Notary Public, at the end of their names *. Thus also the use of seals is now

* The use of these marks was found so beneficial, that at that time all merchants of any note had their peculiar marks, with which they marked all their wares, and bare in shields impaled with, or instead of arms; witness the abundance of merchant marks to be found on the houses, windows, and grave-stones, in all cities and great towns, as Norwich, Lynn, &c. by which the memory of their owners is still preserved, it being very obvious to all that search into the records of those places to find who used such a mark; and then, if we see it on a house, we may conclude it to have been that man's dwelling;

now laid aside (I mean the true use of them), as the distinguishing mark of one family from another, and of one branch from another; and was it enjoined by public authority, that every one in office should, upon his admission, choose and appropriate to himself a particular seal, and register a copy of it publicly, and should never use any other but that alone, under a severe penalty, I am apt to think, in a short time, we should see the good effects of it; for a great number of those vagabonds that infest our country, under pretence of certificates signed by proper magistrates (whose hands are oftener counterfeits than real), would be detected; for though it is easy for an ill-designing person to forge a hand-writing, it is directly the contrary as to a seal; and though it is in the power of all to know the magistrates' names, it is but very few of such sort of people that could know their seals, so that it would in a great measure (if not altogether) put a stop to that vile practice, and it would be easy for every magistrate to know the seals of all others, if they were entered properly, engraved, and published; and it might be of service, if all the office seals

dwelling; if on a disrobed grave-stone, that it was his grave; if on a church-window, or any other public building, that he was a benefactor thereto: and nothing is of greater use than ancient deeds to make out their marks by, for they always sealed with them.

in England (or in those foreign parts that any way concern the realm) were engraved and published, for then it would be in every one's power to know whether the seals of office affixed to all passes, &c. were genuine or no; for it is well known, that numbers travel this nation under pretence of passes from our consuls and agents abroad, and sometimes even deceive careful magistrates with the pretended hands and seals of such, it being sometimes impossible for them to know the truth, which by this means would evidently appear. And thus much, and a great deal more, may be said to encourage the true and original use of that wise Conqueror's practice, who can scarce be said to put any thing into use but what he found was of advantage to his government.

THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

THE anniversary of the birthday of this venerable nobleman was celebrated at Whitehall on Thursday the 4th of August 1803, on which day he completed his 86th year. Congratulatory addresses upon the occasion were presented to him from the several immediate branches of his family, who, with their issue, now living, amount to 57; as follows: Earl

Earl Gower, his Lordship's eldest son,	children	5
Countess of Carlisle, his daughter,	ditto	7
Lady of the Bishop of Carlisle, -	ditto	13
Lady of Lord Chief Baron Macdonald,	ditto	4
Marchioness of Worcester, -	ditto	6
Lady Harrowby, - -	ditto	4
Lady Georgina Elliot, -	ditto	4

Lord G. Leveson, his son, unmarried.

His Grandchildren.

Lord Morpeth, - -	ditto	2
Dutchess of Rutland -	ditto	2
Lady Cawdor, - -	ditto	2
	Total	49

The congratulatory addresses were presented in the following series :

1. From the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.
2. From Earl Gower, on a visit at Castle Howard.
3. From the Lady of the Bishop of Carlisle, at Carlisle palace.
4. From Lady Macdonald, Isle of Sky, North Britain.
5. From the Marquis of Worcester, at Worcester Lodge, near Gloucester.
6. From Lady Harrowby, Sandon Hall, near Litchfield.
7. From Lord Granville Leveson, at Brighton.

His Lordship was born the 4th of August

1717, and married first, in 1744, Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq.; secondly, in 1748, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater; and thirdly, in 1768, Susannah, sister to the present Earl of Galloway.

BOYLE FAMILY.

By C. S——, *Esq.*

ROGER Boyle, Earl of Orrery, fifth son of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, was born at Lismore, in the county of Waterford, April 25, 1621. To give a particular account of this great man, would of itself take up a large volume: all I shall say of him at present is, that he was as great a statesman and soldier as any other in the age he lived in. For a more particular account of his life, the reader is referred to the Memoirs of his Lordship, published lately, and written by Mr. Morris, his Chaplain. The following Epitaph, in the church of Youghal, may give a small idea of this nobleman:

Memoriæ sácrum
Rogeri Boyle, primi Comitis
De Orrery, et Baronis
De Broghill.
Qui dum vixit multis pariter et summis
Honoribus et officiis fungebatur;

Mortuus

Mortuus vero summo cum viventium luctu
Obiit decimo sexto
Die Octobris, Anno Domini 1679,
Annoque ætatis suæ 59.
De quo non hic plura requirat lector,
Quoniam omnia de ingenio et moribus,
Vel ex fama,
Vel ex operibus dignoscere possit.

For a catalogue of his Lordship's works, see the Writers of Ireland, where is also a particular account of his life.

Robert Boyle, the seventh and youngest son of Richard Earl of Cork, was also born at Lismore, in the county of Waterford, on the 25th of January 1626. He received his academical education at Leyden; and having afterwards travelled through France, Italy, and other countries, learnt several languages, and made a great number of curious observations, he settled in England, and spent the last forty years of his life at the house of his sister, the Lady Ranelagh. To attempt the character of this illustrious person would be vain and needless, it having oftener been performed by much abler hands; among which, the reader is referred to that given of him by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. Lord Bishop of Sarum, in his Funeral Sermon, which is as just as it is elegant. I shall only subjoin the following lines, written by a friend, on the birth of this great man:

Lismore, long since the Muses' ancient seat,
Of piety and learning the retreat;
Her alma-mater shone as bright a noon
As Oxford, Cambridge, or the great Sorbonne.
Time shifts the scene;—no longer now she boasts
Her churches, colleges, and learned hosts.
Nature, propitious to the favourite soil,
Restor'd her losses with the birth of Boyle:
Centred in him, her ancient splendour shone,
Who made all arts and sciences his own.

A Catalogue of his works was published anno 1690, in London, by Samuel Smith, bookseller: being too numerous to be here inserted, the curious reader may also find them in the Writers of Ireland *.

THOMAS ASH.

THOMAS Ash was born in a village near Tralee, in Ireland, in the year 1747. He lost his father and mother at the age of eight years: they died of a malignant fever. As he had no friend or relative to watch over his tender years, or to shield him from the inclemency of the world, he

* The air-pump was invented at Oxford by this noble person, with the assistance of that excellent contriver, Mr. Robert Hook.

wandered

wandered about the neighbourhood, till Providence, in pity to his youth and innocence, conducted him to the house of the parish clerk, who, notwithstanding he had a large family of his own, instantly enrolled him in the list of his children, and treated him with all the affection of a father. As his person and manners were engaging, and his heart susceptible of gratitude, the good old man taught him to read and write, and at the age of twelve bound him apprentice to a shoemaker in the neighbourhood, who treated him with kindness, kept him neat and clean, and was much better pleased to find him reading his Bible than working at his last, though his livelihood depended on his industry. At the age of fourteen, Thomas wrote an historical play, in rhyme, called the Battle of Aughrim. Though he had never read a play, nor seen one acted, yet it is extraordinary, that by the mere force of nature he depicted all the characters in their true historical colours, and threw such an interest into the plot, that it has preserved its popularity even at this day. He died at the age of eighteen, of a cold, which he caught on bathing in a state of perspiration. He wrote several pieces of poetry, which he modestly called rhymes. The following is one of the earliest efforts of his untutored muse, which is said to have been founded on a matter of fact; but the names of the parties have

escaped my memory, as it is many years since the particulars were related to me by a person who said he lived in the neighbourhood where this tragical event happened.

COLIN AND SELINA: A TALE.

Ah, faithless! can you say adieu?
And must we (oh sad thought!) for ever part?
No—to thy image I'll prove ever true,
Through life that's wedded to my faithful heart.

Oft shall thy beauties, as I steal along,
Raise in my bosom joy and soft surprise;
Thy voice shall melt the varying linnet's song,
And trembling dewdrops shall recall thy eyes.

In rosebuds oft, or brightest tint of morn,
Thy fairer blushes I shall gladly view:
Love has its roses, and each rose its thorn,
And tears of sorrow are the precious dew.

'T is thus the ling'rrng hours I'll strive to cheer,
Until I land upon that happy shore,
Where sorrow ceases well as idle fear,
And gold the streams of love can taint no more.

Ah, cursed gold! all that's in Fortune's power,
No other earthly bliss canst thou bestow;
Yet, wanting thee, how vain is virtue's dower!
What canst thou purchase?—Nought but empty show!

What

What though in wedlock thou hast often join'd
Old age with youth, the proud, the dull, the vain;
Know, love, true love, can only wed the mind;
You bind the body with your golden chain.

Yet, why false Fortune should I once upbraid?
I never for her favours wish'd to call;
Give me, ye powers, I cried, my charming maid;
The fair possessing, I possess my all.

And oh! what dismal note is this I hear?
To-morrow is Selina to be wed;
Forbid, oh! every worth, the falling tear;
I 'll seek, O friendly Death, thy clay-cold bed!

I 'll seek the stream that gave her first to view,
That faithless shew'd her through its humid veil;
Pure as the lily hung with morning dew,
Or parting clouds that would the moon conceal.

Mild was her eye, in azure lightly drest;
Her hair was brighter than the flowing stream;
The new-shorn fleece, faint semblance of her breast—
But why should I indulge life's waking dream?

Receive, ye woods, oh, cherish this last strain!
With dear content I quit life's thorny road;
Farewell, ye woods, ye call me back in vain;—
So plung'd at once into the parting flood.

The parting waves as quickly now unite,
And close their Colin from the tepid ray;
Next day, the streams Selina fair invite,
Urg'd by their coolness and the smiling day.

At humble distance see the virgins wait,
To deck out innocence in Colin's bride;
That she intended, but intent too late—
The corpse of Colin she a-floating spied.

A tear soft starting from her cheerful eye,
In silence stole adown her beauteous face;
The willows, waving, caught her latest sigh,
And death fast bound them in his cold embrace.

Cold are those breasts that faithful passion warm'd,
No more those cheeks shall with the roses vie;
Silent those tongues that every hearer charm'd,
And beautiful in death the lovers lie!

Now, see around the melancholy band
Bear straight the lovers from the weeping stream
To that dear dwelling, where Selina's hand
Was to reward her Colin's purest flame!

And soon the melancholy tale went round,
And soon the melting tear began to flow;
And bursts of mirth were soon in sorrow drown'd,
And notes of pleasure sunk in notes of woe.

WILLIAM WITH THE STRONG HAND.

WILLIAM with the Strong Hand was the eldest son of William de Albini, who came into England with William the Conqueror, and held large

large possessions by knight's service in Norfolk. He is represented by the historians of those days as a man of great personal prowess, and extraordinary agility and strength of body. Dugdale tells us why he was called William with the Strong Hand: the occasion was thus, as related by that judicious antiquary:

"It happened that the Queen of France, being then a widow, and a very beautiful woman, became much in love with a knight of that country, who was a comely person, and in the flower of his youth: and because she thought that no man excelled him in valour, she caused a tournament to be proclaimed throughout her dominions, promising to reward those who should exercise themselves therein, according to their respective merits; and concluding, that if the person whom she so well affected, should act his part better than others in those military exercises, she might marry him without any dishonour to herself.

"Hereupon divers gallant men, from foreign parts, hasting to Paris, among others came this our William de Albini, bravely accoutred, and in the tournament excelled all others, overcoming many, and wounding one mortally with his lance; which being observed by the Queen, she became exceedingly enamoured of him, and forthwith invited him to a costly banquet, and afterwards

afterwards bestowing certain jewels upon him, offered him marriage. But having plighted his troth to the Queen of England, then a widow, he refused her; whereat she grew so discontented, that she consulted with her maids how she might take away his life; and in pursuance of that design, enticed him into a garden, where there was a secret cave, and in it a fierce lion, into which she descended by divers steps, under colour of shewing him the beast. And when she told him of his fierceness, he answered, that it was a womanish, and not manly quality, to be afraid thereof; but having him there, by the advantage of a folding door, thrust him in to the lion. Being therefore in this danger, he rolled his mantle about his arm, and putting his hand into the mouth of the beast, pulled out his tongue by the root; which done, he followed the Queen to her palace, and gave it to one of her maids to present to her.

" Returning therefore into England with the fame of this glorious exploit, he was forthwith advanced to the earldom of Arundel *, and for his arms the lion given him; nor was it long after, that the Queen of England accepted him for her

* Mr. Vincent ridicules this story (fol. 21); but as it is to be found in authors of as good authority as himself, and some of the ancient bearings of the Arundel family have the lion without a tongue, it has at least probability on its side.

husband,

husband, whose name was Adeliza (or Alice), widow to King Henry I. and daughter to Godfrey Duke of Lorrain; which Adeliza had the castle of Arundel, and county, in dowry from that king." And in the beginning of King Henry II.'s time, he not only obtained the castle and honour of Arundel to himself and his heirs, but also a confirmation of the earldom of Sussex, granted to him by the third penny of the pleas of that county, which in ancient times was the usual way of investing such great men in the possession of any earldom, after those ceremonies of girding with the sword, and putting on the robes, were performed, which have ever, till of late, been thought essential to their creation.

BOY AND SHARK.

Account of an Accident to a Boy belonging to the Ganges, on her Passage to China.

DURING our detention at Ongar Point, on the coast of Java, on the 5th day of May 1803, John Walker, boatswain's boy of the Ganges, aged thirteen, swimming alongside of the ship when at anchor, and at a few yards distance from our boat, with three seamen in it, was discovered by a shark, which

which immediately approached him, and in spite of the exertions of the boat's crew to intimidate the hungry monster, laid hold of the unfortunate boy, by including in his mouth the whole of the right leg, and more than half the thigh, pulling him beneath the water, close alongside the ship, when upwards of 100 men were spectators of the scene, and kept him below for near two minutes, in which time he had torn off the leg and thigh to the extent above-mentioned. The boy once more made his appearance on the surface of the water, and the shark upon his back, with his jaws again extended to make a finish of his prey, when a lad from the boat struck him with the boat-hook, and by the same instrument laid hold of the boy, and brought him on board. The boy had lost a vast deal of blood; the stump was dreadfully lacerated, and the bone splintered near an inch and a half, which required an amputation of the thigh close to the hip joint. Under all these untoward circumstances, the boy has recovered quite well within three months from the date of the operation. The fleet, as it was an extraordinary case, have subscribed upwards of 280*l.* for him.

Bombay Courier.

PIERRE STUPPA.

THE brave Pierre Stuppa, the Swiss General, having been deputed by the Thirteen Cantons to solicit the arrears of pay which had been owing for a long time to the Swiss officers, M. de Louvois, the war minister, who was present, said to the King (Louis XIV.), "Sire, those Swiss are very importunate: if your Majesty had all the money that your royal predecessors have given to that people, it would form a road from Paris to Basil."—"That may be," observed Stuppa, with an air of firmness; "but, at the same time, if your Majesty had all the blood that the Swiss have shed in the service of France, it would form a river from Paris to Basil." The King was so struck with the observation, that he ordered M. de Louvois to pay the whole of the money, without the least deduction or the smallest delay.

ANTHONY CIBO.

ANTHONY Cibo was raised to the rank of a Cardinal by Pope Alexander VI. of detestable memory, at the recommendation of Mahomet I. Emperor of the Turks. Cibo had been sent as

Nuncio to Constantinople, to engage the Sublime Porte to enter Italy against Frederic King of Naples.

LONGEVITY.

JULY 1778, I saw Elizabeth Palmer, a woman who said she was 105 years old: her maiden name was Ollerton; she was born in the parish of Rock; afterwards she lived in Mamble, and now lives in Bayton. The register of Rock was burnt some years ago, so that her age cannot be ascertained from thence; but one Potter, who within these few months lived not a stone's cast from her, aged 95, said, he remembered Betty Palmer a woman grown, and married, when he was a child. She has now the perfect use of all her senses. I saw her mow part of her orchard, which she does every year. Within these few months her house was thatched, and she served the thatcher, carrying to him straw, and every other necessary, up the ladder to the top of the house. She read to me a small print without spectacles, which she has never yet used, but says she believes she must come to them soon. Her memory is perfectly good; for she mentioned to me several particulars which happened to her in

in the year after the Revolution, when she was big enough to milk a cow. Her son lives with her, and she does all the business of the house; she rises early, drinks chiefly cider-washings, hath rarely tasted tea, never took tobacco in any shape, or drams; has had three husbands and seven children; and her father died about twenty-five years ago, aged 104."—*Nash's Worcester*, p. 55, vol. ii.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

Third Year of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

By Order of the Right Hon. the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the City of Edinburgh.

ALL persons not being natives of Great Britain, at present residing in Edinburgh, or any of the liberties thereof, including Leith, Newhaven, &c. are hereby required, without delay, to appear at the council-chamber of this city, between the hours of eleven forenoon and three afternoon, during the present week, in order that their names, avocations, &c. may be enrolled, when each will receive a certificate of appearance. All foreigners of every description, Americans and Irishmen, are included in the above.

above. Householders and letters of lodgings are also peremptorily required to give in lists of all persons of the above description residing in their houses, under the pain of fine or imprisonment for non-compliance. Constables and other peace-officers will be directed to apprehend all foreigners, Americans or Irishmen, not possessed of such certificates.

August 25th, 1803.

SLAVISH CONDITION OF THE VILLAINS AND COPYHOLDERS IN THE DAYS OF FEUDAL TYRANNY.

The Customs of the Manor of Gissing, in the County of Norfolk; extracted from the Extent Roll in 1372 (*Anno* 2 Edw. III.).

A VILLAIN cannot divide his tenements, but all shall remain to the eldest issue; and if such issue withdraws out of the homage, he forfeits his tenements.

A prepositor and messor to be yearly chosen out of the tenants; the messor to have the custody of the fields, meadows, and woods: he shall sow all the lord's seed, and give an account of all trespasses to the lord, and shall keep

keep a man all seed-time to fright the vermin. The messor shall come to the lord's diet (or maintenance) the first day of harvest, and shall be maintained all harvest-time: he is to collect the lord's rents and profits of court, and to warn the labourers and all others to their duty, and is to be paid his wages by the tenements that are eligible into that office.

The bondmen to fine for their marriage at the lord's will.

The tenement of every copyholder at each death is heriotable by the best beast; and if they have no beast they shall give 5*s.*

The heir of the tenant shall take his inheritance by fine, at the will of the lord,

And shall give for leyerwite * 2*s.* 8*d.*

All bond tenants also shall make redemption of their blood, and shall not put themselves under the protection of any other lord.

Every heir (according to the custom) is of full age at fourteen years.

The lord hath belonging to this manor liberty of faldage and closure through the whole town of Gissing, as well in other men's lands as in his own;

And also free warren in his own lands,

* A fine paid by the tenant to his lord for defiling a bondwoman.

And the correction of the assize of bread and ale of all his tenants; all which were allowed the said Sir Thomas de Hastyngs in an eyre at Norwich, before Hugh Abbot of Bury, and his fellow justices, in the 12th of Henry III. which liberties the lord hath, and now doth peaceably enjoy.

In the rolls of the 39th of Edward III. the jury present, that William Goodwin, a villain by blood (of the lord), was a rebel, and ungrateful towards his lord, for which his tenement and all his goods in the lordship were seized; his offence was, that he falsely and maliciously said, that the lord received and maintained a thief, and knowingly kept four stolen sheep in his fold, by which the lord was damaged 30*l.*

In the 22d and 23d of Edward III. it appears, that all the tenements are heriotable, and thirty-one tenants paid their heriots this year.

Robert Roos *(testator cervisiæ)*, or ale-conner, was amerced for not doing his office.

Alice le Ward paid the lord 1*s.* for license to marry.

Another paid 20*s.* that she might live out of the lordship, and marry whoever she would.

In 42d Edward III. a tenant forfeited all his copyhold, only because he claimed to hold it freely.

The

The widow of the copyholder during the nonage of the heir, is his guardian by custom.

16th Edward IV. the manner of the lord's taking stray is thus set forth: a horse came within the jurisdiction of the manor, and was seized as a stray, and proclaimed according to custom, and nobody challenging him in a year and a day, he was appraised in open court and sold.

JOHN SPRIGGS.

RUN away from his wife and helpless family, on Friday last, John Spriggs, by trade a tailor, aged thirty-five, a wide mouth, zig-zag teeth, a nose of high-burned brick blue, with a lofty bridge, swivel-eyed, and a scar (not an honourable one) on his left cheek. He primes and loads (*i. e.* takes snuff and tobacco); he is so loquacious, that he tires every one in company but himself. In order that he may entrap the sinner and the saint, he carries a *pack of cards* in one pocket, and the *Practice of Piety* in the other: he is a great liar, and can varnish a falsehood with a great deal of art. Had on when he went away a three-cocked hat, which probably he has since changed to a round one, with a blue body-coat, rather on the fade. He was

seen in Bennington on Saturday last disguised in a clean shirt. N. B. It is supposed that he did not go off without a companion, as he is a great favourite with the fair sex. For the mere sake of bringing such a runagate to justice, a reward of three dollars will be paid for his apprehension by applying to any magistrate in the state any day before the 1st of August next.—*Vermont Journal.*

ROYAL CLEMENCY.

AT the last assizes for the county of York (1803), John Holden, late clerk to a respectable house in Leeds, was tried on a charge of forgery, found guilty, and condemned. The circumstances attending this person's case are sufficiently remarkable to merit detail. His family sustained a very respectable rank in Halifax; and his father, in particular, was a most worthy man, and greatly esteemed by all who had the pleasure of knowing him. Immediately after the sentence passed upon this unhappy son, a dissenting minister in that neighbourhood, of the Baptist persuasion, who had been long and intimately attached to the father, presumed to address his Majesty in a moving petition for the pardon of the son of his deceased friend. Aware that it has

has been almost an invariable rule with the Sovereign to grant no pardons for the crime of forgery, he had little hopes of success; but his petition prevailed, and the pardon has been granted.

That the solicitation of a private individual in a case of this nature should obtain a gracious acceptance from the Sovereign, while similar applications, though urged by numbers, and with the weight of personal influence, have failed of success, will, no doubt, strike many with surprise. The following circumstances, however, which have come to our knowledge, and for the truth of which we can vouch, may serve to explain in some measure the singularity of the preceding narrative.

In the course of the last year a preacher before the Royal Family, in his sermon, quoted a passage in illustration of his subject from a living author, whose name however was not mentioned. The extract arrested the attention of the King, who, as soon as the service was ended, inquired from what author the quotation was made. Being informed that he was a dissenting minister now living in Yorkshire, his Majesty gave orders for the book to be procured him, and the author was made acquainted with his Majesty's pleasure. The book was transmitted to the King, accompanied by a letter from the author expres-

sive of the sense he entertained of the high honour done him, and requesting his Sovereign's acceptance of it. It is added, that his Majesty was so well pleased with the book, that he desired the author might be informed of his readiness to serve him. The petition lately presented for the pardon of the unfortunate man, afforded this disinterested and amiable minister the opportunity of supplicating at the hands of his Sovereign the exercise of his royal prerogative, while it at the same time exhibited a no less favourable one to the King, of evincing the truth and sincerity of his proffered service. That the monarch, after voluntarily giving a pledge of his favour to an obscure and humble (though highly meritorious) individual, should be induced to depart from a fixed rule rather than violate the sacredness of his pledge, evinces, in our opinion, a dignity of mind which raises his character above all praise.—*Liverpool Chronicle.*

LETTER

From the late Earl of BUTE *to the Right Hon. Lord* GEORGE SACKVILLE.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR letter gave me very great concern. I thought things bad, but had no idea of their being

being packed in this hasty manner. I own I can't easily conceive what is meant by a trial of an English general abroad: ignorant as I am in military affairs, several things occur that make me think such trial impracticable. I will endeavour to be in town on Thursday. I will take the liberty of sending to you. I am, my dear Lord, with great regard, your most obedient humble servant,

Kew, Monday. BUTE.

DUNKARDS.

Letter from a Member of the Society called Dunkards, to a Lady of the PENN *Family, with her Answer.*

To the Honourable Lady J. P. *Grace and Peace from God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ through the Influence of the Holy Ghost.*

BOTH the extract of your Ladyship's letter to the Rev. Mr. B. and also the letter to the sisters, were faithfully transmitted by the said gentleman. That your Ladyship hath honoured the sisters with your hand-writing, convinced me that you are a patroness of that life which is

so much against the modern taste: and herein the idea I have of your Ladyship's merits hath farther confirmed me.

The sisters are a venerable society, founded forty years ago, and have ever since not only been an honour to your sex, but also an ornament to this province; and as I have the honour to be their president, it was incumbent on me to answer in their name. Your Ladyship was well informed that they are enemies to all superfluities; and I may further say, that they are very scrupulous even in things necessary to support this life.

I will not mention here what moved them to this rigorous life, neither what cause they had to consecrate themselves to perpetual virginity, for your Ladyship is better acquainted with this way than to stand in need of any human information. It is now near half a century elapsed, since in your province the powers of eternity exerted themselves with such a vehemency, that the foundations of all denominations began to shake; also that every one thought the kingdom of God was nigh at hand. At that time, amongst others, have enlisted under the banners of Christ many young persons of both sexes, which after they by water baptism had publicly quitted all claim to their natural prerogatives, settled here and there as hermits, in the great wilderness of Conestogues,

Conestogues, after the manner of the fathers of the third and following centuries; and it was then a common thing to see persons of your sex to follow in those deserts the strictest discipline. But about the year 1734, the town of Ephrata was first founded as a rendezvous for all solitary persons which have dedicated themselves to perpetual virginity, and have hitherto lived scattered in the wilderness, in which town one corner was allotted to the sisters; and accordingly two deputies were sent to the Hon. T. P. your worthy consort to Philadelphia, to ask his permission to lay out said town on a barren piece of his land (for they have been there scrupulous to take out a patent); which he not only granted, but also promised his protection, although they were afterwards compelled by necessity to take a patent.

This is the origin of a small republic, which sprung up in the heart of North America, and whose fame in a short time penetrated not only through all British provinces, but also through all Protestant kingdoms of Europe. It arose from the dust with incredible celerity, and such strict discipline, that never a potentate had soldiers which understood their corporal manœuvres better than those members understood their spiritual one; for besides their hard labour, they maintained fasting and watching in such a degree, that

that they justly might be put in the scale with the said fathers in the wilderness: for which cause not only all the governors of this and sundry of the adjacent provinces, but also many other gentlemen, had the curiosity to see this new commonwealth.

It is remarkable, that after it came to its meridian it began to decline, which was occasioned by deaths and desertion, partly by intestine broils: a proof that no church whatever can here be of a perpetual lustre. Should I enumerate to your Ladyship all the battles, skirmishes, and temptations we had during that long course, it would swell up this letter to a large volume; for we had against us not only the powers and principalities of darkness, but also all carnal men, with whom did sympathize our own flesh. Six years ago departed this life our worthy president, who hath founded the order, and then the generality did conceive new hopes that our fatal period was nigh at hand; but the hand of our God did strengthen us that we closed our ranks anew, and by his gracious interposition the expectation of our adversaries is again frustrated. The number of sisters is at present twenty-six.

I am persuaded that many in the British dominions have favoured our institution, being well adapted to raise the spirit of ancient Christianity, and I humbly think that your Ladyship is among that

that number. I have the assurance that none of them shall fall short of their expectation; since for the sake of the honour of God and the common edification, this institution is erected, not by any man's self-will, but immediately by the hand of God, although he employed proper means to it.

Perhaps I have ventured too much upon your Ladyship's patience, and will therefore conclude with humble supplications to the throne of grace, that God would take the whole honourable family, and particularly your worthy consort and your Ladyship's person, under his peculiar protection, and save them from all evil; in which I subscribe myself your Ladyship's obedient servant, P. M.

P. S. When I did communicate this letter to the sisters, their two matrons, together with the whole society, desired me to send their humble respects to their patroness.

J. P.

SIR, September 29, 1774.

Your very respectable character would make me ashamed to address you with words merely of form; I hope, therefore, you will not suspect me of using any such, when I assured you I received the favour of your letter with very great pleasure: and permit me, Sir, to join the thanks I owe

I owe to these worthy women, the holy sisters at Ephrata, with those I now present to you, for the good opinion you and they are pleased to have of me. I claim only that of respecting merit where I find it, and of wishing an increase in the world of that piety to the Almighty, and peace to our fellow-creatures, that, I am convinced, is in your hearts; and, therefore, do me the justice to believe you have my wishes of prosperity here and happiness hereafter.

I did not receive the precious stone you were so good to send me till yesterday; I am most extremely obliged to you for it; it deserves to be particularly distinguished on its own, as well as the giver's account: I shall keep it with a grateful remembrance of my obligations to you.

Mr. P. as well as myself, were much obliged to you for remarking to us that the paper you wrote on was the manufacture of Ephrata: it had, on that account, great merit to us; and he has desired our friend Mr. B. to send some specimens of the occupations of some of your society. He bids me say that he rejoices to hear of your and their welfare.

It is I that should beg pardon for interrupting your quiet and profitable moments, by an intercourse so little beneficial as mine; but I trust your benevolence will indulge this satisfaction to

one

one who wishes to assure you, Sir, that she is, with sincere regard, your obliged and faithful well-wisher, J. P.

To Mr. P. M. President of the Cloysters at Ephrata.

PORTRAIT DU CHARLES II. ROI D'ANGLETERRE.

Par le Comte de Bussi.

CHARLES II. Roi d'Angleterre avoit de grands yeux noirs, les sourcils forte épais et qui se joignoient; le teint brun, le nez bien fait, la forme du visage longue, les cheveux noirs et frisez. Il étoit grand, et avoit la taille belle. Il avoit d'abord froid: et cependant il étoit doux, et civil dans la bonne plus que dans la mauvaise fortune. Il étoit brave, c'est à dire, qu'il avoit le courage d'un soldat, et l'ame d'un prince. Il avoit de l'esprit. Il aimoit ses plaisirs; mais il aimoit encore plus son devoir. Enfin c'étoit l'un des plus grands rois du monde: neantmoins quelque heureuse naissance qu'il eût, l'aversité qui lui avoit servi de gouverneur, avoit été la principale cause de son merite extraordinaire.

LETTER FROM W. B — ——,

Of Upton, Esq. to his Son.

DEAR BILLY, Bath, February the 14th, 1748.

I RECEIVED your letter yesterday with great pleasure; and if I had not been engaged, Coles should have carried you an answer.

I congratulate you upon the two discoveries you have made, and I take great notice of your perseverance in endeavouring to solve and find out difficulties that occur to you either in grammatical or historical points; and let me tell you, for your encouragement, that you cannot do any thing more serviceable to yourself or more acceptable to me. Now a word or two concerning the two points themselves. As to ἐποιησω, you say it is the second person sing. of the aor. pri. of the mede voice of ποιεω—I transcribe your words, in which I believe you are right; but you will find upon looking upon the verb in its first person singular, present tense, indicative mood, active voice, 'tis spelt ω, an ε and not an η in the penultima; therefore you will rectify that the next time you have occasion to make use of it; and I can easily find from whence your mistake arose; for the derivatives from that verb, as well as ἐποιησω, are frequently spelt with η, as ποιησις and

ποιημα,

ποίημα, if I mistake not; for I have no Lexicon or Greek author with me here, but I think I am right, and desire to know from you what you suppose the reason to be.

And before I dismiss ἐποίησα, I shall be obliged to you if you will send me in your next the whole aoris. prim. mede voice, from the first person singular to the third person plural; that is, through all the persons and numbers in a regular manner.

Now a word or two for your historical fact. The king reigning over Babylon at the time when Cyrus took that city is, as you well observe, called Balchazar or Baalchazar, or Beltishazar by Daniel: of this name there is no doubt, and was in all probability his Caldæan name; but the doubt arose concerning the name by which he was known to the other nations, and in this the learned have differed; but if I remember well, most of them agree to call him *Nabonidus* or *Nabonides*.

If Xenophon had named him, the matter would have admitted no dispute; but whoever he was, this is certain, that the famous Babylonian or Caldæan empire was extinguished the moment Cyrus made himself master of that city; for he made his uncle Cyaxares, or Darius Medus, for he goes by both these names, king of Babylon.

As

As I have no chronological authors by me, I cannot tell you exactly the time of this event; but I think I may venture to say upon my memory, that it was about 530 years before the Christian æra, and consequently about 2276 years ago. I have said the more on this subject, to put you in mind of what I have often inculcated; that is, that whoever reads history without its companions, geography and chronology, will make very little progress, and receive very little, if any advantage, from that most important branch of learning; and I cannot omit any opportunity of preparing you for a more accurate application to those subjects, in which I promise you all possible assistance in due time. In the mean while I recommend to you the continuing your curiosity, and laudable inquiries after every great event you meet with in any author you read.

The reason I mentioned *Justin* to you was, because Mr. Dowding himself had spoke to me about him; and I conceive him to be no improper author to accompany Xenophon. I take it for granted he had his reasons for his silence on that head.

Mamma will write you a few lines; and I must now take my leave of you for the present, with the good wishes and blessings of your affectionate father, W. B.

Letter

Letter from the Same to WILLIAM LOCKE, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, February the 29th, 1747-8.

YOU have in your last stated the question between us very rightly; and though I perused it with the attention it so well deserves, I am still pretty much of the same opinion I have some time entertained; that is, that *we* are not in so deplorable, nor the French in so flourishing a state, as is the *hodierna praxis* to represent the one and the other; and though I say this, I shall admit almost all your facts.

I will allow the advantage of a single and uncontrollable direction, perhaps the *greatest* they have; and yet if I remember well, your friend the immortal Bayle has a chapter on that subject, wherein he discusses the point at large; but I think he does not, upon summing up the arguments, give it so great a preference. I believe you will find it in his *Reflections sur les Comètes*. I wish you would turn to it; but, indeed, in the general there must needs be strong advantages.

The period between 1702 and 1709 was very remarkable for the losses the French sustained; which proves only that their power, and forces, and riches, were formidable and great, which I always admit; but it proves at the same time

that the first is not invincible, nor the last inexhaustible. But here pause a moment, and what I am going to tell you is a fact I am well acquainted with. For those very years you mention, they (the French) were almost the absolute masters of the mines of Peru and Mexico; the South Seas were full of their ships, and continued so till my time. The sums exhausted from thence would appear incredible to any one unacquainted with those parts; but to such a degree was it, that they had left neither bullion nor coined money in those kingdoms, and many of their latter ships actually ballasted with ore.

I have seen and have by me the computation of the millions sent to France to the year 12 inclusive, as transmitted to the court of Spain: the quantity was immense, particularly for the first ten years, from 1700 to 1710; and when I arrived in those parts, French goods were as cheap in Peru, and even in Lima, as at Cadiz, so prodigious a quantity had they poured in. Not an ounce of those millions ever visited Spain; and as to the captures made by you, I remember none but a trifling one by Sir Charles Wager, which indeed made a great noise, but in fact, for I was afterwards acquainted intimately with the captain who commanded the ship, and the deputy of commerce on board her, she had not 200,000 dollars in all—45,000*l.*

Though

Though this at first view may appear a digression, yet I think it a material one to account for their *resources* at that period, and you will not be displeased at hearing these little historical facts on which you may depend.

The memorial of Demarets proves the great distress they were reduced to, which they began to feel sensibly when they had exhausted the Indies, and there was no more treasure or very little for them; for the scarcity began in 1709, and for the last two or three years they could find nothing but earth.

I believe the sum mentioned by you to be raised by them in the four years to 1712, to be a fact; but then, as you say, they postponed, rescinded, and even annihilated: that indeed is blessed work. And now pray tell me, what would have been the consequence of all this? You must own, absolute and total ruin to the whole nation, had not the perfidy of a few of our countrymen held back the knife which was at their throats. They were as a nation *in articulo mortis*, agonizing and at the last gasp: we know, I say, who saved them—*pudet hæcop probria*, &c.

This subject makes me sweat, even in this weather. May the curses of all the gods, of all the nations in the universe, past, present, and future, fall upon the authors, if any alive!

But to return. You ask me if we can annihilate, &c. &c. as they have and can do? I answer, No: for which very reason you can carry on an expense longer than they, from the solidity of your credit, of which they can have none, and is one reason they are obliged to raise most of their money within the year. And here let us pause one moment more, and consider whence can about fifteen millions sterling, for that is the sum, a little more or less, they raised last, and must this year, and so on; I say, whence can this money arise, and how be continued? Can the revenue of their kingdom supply it? I verily believe no. Have they mines? No. Have they trade? You own they have not. Have they credit? No, nor can possibly have.

Now let us view the other side of the medal, and come home.

We are, indeed, in debt, and deeply in debt: but who are our creditors? why, excepting the sum you owe foreigners, which, to name a certain for an uncertain one, let us call twenty millions, you are your own creditors; for as to the nation, it is neither one shilling richer or poorer for the other part of the debt, and the remaining sixty millions is a load that every shoulder in the kingdom must contribute to bear its part of.

When I ask the question relating to the 5 per cent. I was well apprized that it could not be given

given literally or expressly, and for the reasons you mention; but whether openly or in disguise, it is the same thing in effect, and will answer my purpose, that is, the money will be raised. But, when you ask me for a *fund*, and promise me so glorious a reward, you must give me leave to smile, as I am sure you did when you writ it; but in answer, I will venture to name ten at least, every one as good as some which have been named by the Treasury and established by the Parliament within these few years; and it is worthy of observation, that the last year's, or rather this year's subsidies, were more than full before people knew whether they should have any *fund* at all; and I believe the question was asked, if by any, by very few.

I will now return to another subject, but I shall resume this before I conclude; so pray arm yourself with patience.

I told you in the beginning of this, that I admitted most of your facts; historical facts, as when you mention the naval power of France in the reigns of King William and Queen Ann, you have reason; but then let me tell you, that that formidable power cost France her heart's blood; it was at that time a force against nature, and an effort that exhausted her finances to an incredible degree; it was more the result of ambition and vanity in the Grand Monarque, than

from an expectation in his ministers to exceed the maritime powers: they foresaw and foretold that it would be impossible to support that immense expense for many years, and that a few miscarriages would put an end to it, which was verified by the event; for though they made a pompous figure for some years, they fell almost all at once; for, after the engagement off Malaga, they never attempted a grand fleet, and after the destruction of their men of war at Toulon, they contented themselves with privateering. And here I will mention an anecdote which is curious and almost incredible, though true: the *vir immortalis* did not know to his dying day the misfortune and destruction of his ships at Toulon.

What I have said concerning their naval power, and efforts ineffectual to support it, I had from very authentic memoirs, collected by a very judicious and indefatigable person, well, very well instructed in all the wheels that move that great nation, and one whom you knew: the reason I take to be, that they had not laid a substantial foundation for such support, which is, and only can be, trade. Now, the long peace they have lately enjoyed, and their exceeding attention to that article, so much promoted and protected by the ablest statesman they *ever* had, I mean Fleury, had put them in a condition, and their national

national fire and impetuosity have permitted it, in a few years, to gain the point they have been so long contending for. This he often declared, and exploded the Quixote schemes of Richlieu and Mazarine, for which he gave most solid and unanswerable reasons. This H. W——e knows very well, and the only error he seems to have committed was the neglect of preparations of naval armaments: but indeed he was pushed into a war immaturely, and before he had time to carry his dangerous scheme into execution. Happy for us, which brings me a little closer to our present case; and I ask, what has the present war done? Give me leave to answer this question, and to which you must assent. It has entirely thrown down that enormous structure they had been erecting for more than thirty years, and from whence they must in a few years have battered you to atoms; they must begin *de novo*, their very foundations are destroyed; that is, if you please; and this you allow they cannot do in time of war, which is what I say; but say you, they can in two or three years of peace. Now pray consider: if this doctrine is true and orthodox, is it not the strongest argument in nature against a peace? for if they can so soon recover, the moment you sign a peace, that very moment you sign your own *dead warrant*; and the *rather*, because you must in course disarm,

your ships retire to their docks, your seamen dispersed, and perhaps taking pay against you for bread: they, your enemies, taught by experience, augmenting and prepared in a few years to attack you with a superiority, which they can never come at but by your own faults.

This must be the case, if what you and many others say is the real condition of your enemies, and therefore I must still be of opinion to follow the blow, and I will venture to affirm, with all my scepticism about me, that you have nothing else to save you as a nation; and this, I again repeat it, is plain, if a few years peace is to do what is said by some they will, and thus you have no choice; for surely it is much better to try the chance of war, than die without remedy by a peace.

I will release you when I have given my real sentiments as to the article of our resources, exclusive of trade; and perhaps you will be surprised when I answer your question, "Have your landed men public virtue enough to submit to an equal land-tax?" I answer for an individual, Yes; and I wish to God every freeholder in England would make the same reply; and when I tell you this, I should at the same time tell you, that in proportion I should for my modicum be as great a contributor as most in the kingdom.

kingdom. I have always thought it reasonable; but then I hope you monied men will co-operate with us, and by consent submit to the reduction of 1 per cent. interest on the funds, at and above 4 per cent. for without a voluntary and free consent I would by no means touch them, for they are no doubt in some degree sacred; but in case of necessity, both the one and the other *must* and *will* be done; and then behold a resource, and an immense one, and the nation not *ruined*, but will then be upon a better, infinitely better footing than any of their neighbours. We may call this or that article sacred, inviolable, and give many other pompous attributes to them; but one thing called necessity will soon divest them of their titles. And as I am upon this subject, I cannot avoid mentioning what you observed in one of yours, as dropped by P—m in the House —I mean a general excise; and do not frown if I say that I have ever been an advocate for it, as the only means to preserve your trade and answer all ends of government; but then it requires great abilities as well as resolution, the first to form and digest, the other to put it in execution. Behold, then, another resource; and with this I am persuaded the nation would be more formidable than ever. Now tell me freely your sentiments on these two last resources; I

may

may be wrong, and I own they will be subject to great struggles; but now is the time, when there is a Parliament so circumstanced as the present, and in its infancy.

Once more: methinks I could demonstrate that a poll-tax, at a moderate rate, would likewise answer all your ends. What think you of that?

Now, lest I should appear to you in the light of a projector, I will add no more, nor should I have said so much, if you had not in a manner defied me to name our resources. But I cannot conclude without this observation, whether there be an excise or a poll, you will be able to raise within the year from the profits of your vast trade, for in either case all duties, you know, must be taken off; whereas your enemies cannot possibly raise, that is, continue to raise their funds yearly, for want of that trade which you are possessed of.

Finally, as to your postscript, and the fall of the funds, I am so far from being surprised at it, that I daily expected it, and expect daily to see them falling; for though I can assign some reason for it, yet I will venture to say that the preposterous declarations of your dangerous situation in a certain place are the chief cause. I dare affirm them, whether true or not, to be the most

most absurd and injudicious steps I ever remember to have been taken; can answer no purpose, and may, must, and do great mischief. In respect to your allies, your credit, &c. &c. &c. Adieu.

LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH,

Sometime President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England; one of the most extraordinary Men that ever appeared on the Theatre of human Existence. Written by JEREMY BELKNAP, *D. D.; with Notes by the Editor.*

THOUGH the early part of the life of this extraordinary man was spent in foreign travels and adventures, which have no reference to America, yet the incidents of that period so strongly mark his character, and give such a tincture to his subsequent actions, and are withal so singular in themselves, that no reader (it is presumed) will censure the introduction of them here as impertinent.

He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1579*. From the first dawn of reason

* This is determined by an inscription annexed to his portrait on his map of New England, "Ætat. 37, anno 1616." This

son he discovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his schoolfellows. When about thirteen years of age he sold his books and satchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raise money, with a view to convey himself privately to sea; but the death of his father put a stop for the present to this attempt, and threw him into the hands of guardians, who endeavoured to check the ardour of his genius by confining him to a counting-house. Being put apprentice to a merchant at Lynn, at the age of fifteen, he at first conceived hopes that his master would send him to sea in his service; but this hope failing, he quitted his master, and with only ten shillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman who was travelling to France. At Orleans he was discharged from his attendance on Lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England. With this money he visited Paris, and proceeded to the Low Countries, where he enlisted as a

This portrait represents him clad *in armour*, and under it are these verses:

"Such are the lines that shew thy face, but those
That shew thy grace and glory brighter bee;
Thy faire discoveries and fowle overthrows
Of salvages much civilized by thee,
Best shew thy spirit, and to it glory win,
So thou art *brasse* without, but *golde* within."

soldier,

soldier, and learned the rudiments of war, a science peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scots gentleman abroad, he was persuaded to pass into Scotland, with the promise of being strongly recommended to King James; but being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which suited his taste, he built a booth in a wood, and betook himself to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance; in which exercise he at length found a companion, an Italian gentleman, rider to the Earl of Lincoln, who drew him from his sylvan retirement to Tattersal.

Having recovered a part of the estate which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels in the winter of the year 1596, being then only seventeen years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where meeting with a Frenchman who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them to France. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery, in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship-master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time they had conveyed

conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously undertook to conduct him to Mortaine, where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at that place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could gain no recompense; but the report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

Eager to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favours which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends, and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him: without speaking a word they both drew; and Smith having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons who were assembled on the occasion. Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the Earl of Ployer, who had been brought up in England; and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles; visiting and observing every thing in his way which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a rabble of pilgrims. The ship was forced

forced by a tempest into the harbour of Toulon, and afterwards was obliged, by a contrary wind, to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice, in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them ascribe their ill fortune to the presence of a heretic on board; they devoutly cursed Smith, and his Queen, Elizabeth, and in a fit of pious rage threw him into the sea. He swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Malo, which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend the Earl of Ployer, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant, and on his return had the high satisfaction of a naval engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took and rifled of her rich cargo. Smith was set on shore at Antibes with a box of a thousand chequins (about 2000 dollars), by the help of which he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand Archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and an Irish Jesuit, who introduced him to Lord Eberspaught, Baron Kizel, and other officers of distinction; and here he found full scope for his genius, for the Emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

He

He had communicated to Eberspaught a method of conversing at a distance by signals made with torches *, which, being alternately shewn and hidden a certain number of times, designated every letter of the alphabet. He had soon after an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberspaught being besieged by the Turks in the strong town of Olimpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour from his friends. Smith proposed his method of communication to Baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in practice. He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and sufficiently remote from the Turkish camp. At the display of the signal, Eberspaught knew and answered it, and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence: "Thursday night I will charge on the east; at the alarm, sally thou." The answer was, "I will." Just be-

* The method is this: First, three torches are shewn in a line equidistant from each other, which are answered by three others in the same manner; then the message being written as briefly as possible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are signified by shewing and hiding one light as often as there are letters from A to that letter which you mean: the letters from M to Z by two lights in the same manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing three lights. At every letter, the light stands till the other party may write it down, and answer by his signal, which is one light.

fore the attack, by Smith's advice, a great number of false fires were made on another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy, and gave advantage to the assailants; who, being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the siege *. This well-conducted exploit produced to our young adventurer the command of a company, consisting of two hundred and fifty horsemen, in the regiment of Count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

The regiment in which he served being engaged in several hazardous enterprises, Smith was foremost in all dangers, and distinguished himself both by his ingenuity and by his valour; and when Meldrick left the Imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the Lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single captain of the Christian troops. The honour of accepting this challenge being determined by lot, fell on Captain Smith; who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of

* See Note A, at the end of the life.

music began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general, the Lord Moyzes.

The death of the chief so irritated his friend Grualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conquerer, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat, took off his head also. Smith then, in his turn, sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third champion could take it. This challenge was accepted by Bonamolgro, who unhorsed Smith, and was near gaining the victory; but remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his falchion, which brought him to the ground, and his head was added to the number. For these singular exploits, he was honoured with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the Turks' heads on the points of three lances. With this ceremony Smith was conducted to the pavilion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats, and a commission to be major in his regiment. The Prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum,

num, and moreover granted him a coat of arms, bearing three Turks' heads in a shield. The patent was admitted, and recorded in the College of Heralds in England, by Sir Henry Segar, Garter King at Arms. Smith was always proud of this distinguishing honour, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontispiece to his history, with this motto:

"Vincere est vivere."

After this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars near Rotenton, and many brave men were slain; among whom were nine English and Scots officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom. Smith was wounded in this battle, and lay among the dead: his habit discovered him to the victors as a person of consequence; they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogal, who sent him as a present to his mistress Tragabigzanda, at Constantinople, accompanied with a message as full of vanity as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

The present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian; and Smith, in that tongue, not only informed her of his country and quality; but con-

bled to travel through Germany, France, and Spain, and having visited the kingdom of Morocco, he returned by sea to England, having in his passage enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement. At his arrival in his native country, he had a thousand ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures, and make discoveries in North America.

Bartholomew Gosnold * having conceived a favourable idea of America, had made it his business, on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with Captain Smith, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprising genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt †, a clergyman, and several others, they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation, which was usually styled the South Virginia company, or, the London company, in distinction from the Plymouth company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of the patent was April 10, 1606, and the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of one hun-

* See Note B. † See Note C.

dred

dred tons, another of forty, and one of twenty, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a colony; and their orders for government were sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs by bad weather six weeks; and afterwards had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeak Bay till the 26th of April 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation, there was a jealousy and dissension among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient; his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeak. When the box was opened, it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield,

Christopher Newport, John Ratcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal, were named to be of the council, who were to choose a president from among themselves for one year; and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be "examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices." When the council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted, and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named Cape Henry, and the northern, Cape Charles, in honour of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered, they gave the name of their sovereign; and the northern point of its entrance was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats they took plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls; and on the plains they found large and ripe strawberries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town (Kecoughton), where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted

with

with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco and a dance. In return, they presented the natives with beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming. They made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May, they pitched upon a peninsula, where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspiha, another Indian chief, who, being made acquainted with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterwards sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they pitched their tents, and gave it the name of James-town.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets, or in cutting and riving timber to relade the ships. The president at first would admit of no martial exercise, nor allow any fortification to be made, excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half moon. Captain Newport took Smith and twenty more with him, to discover the head of James river. In six days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, as they had

had at Cape Henry, took possession of the country in the name of King James. In this route they visited Powhatan, the principal Indian chief, or Emperor *. His town consisted of twelve houses, pleasantly situate on a hill, before which were three islands, a little below the spot where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received; and when some of his Indians murmured at the coming of the English among them, he silenced them by saying, "Why should we be offended? they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force; they want only a little ground, which we can easily spare." This appearance of friendship was not much relied on, when, at their return to James-town, they found that the company had been surprised at their work by a party of Indians, who had killed one, and wounded seventeen others. A double-headed shot from one of the ships had cut off a bough of a tree, which, falling among the Indians, terrified and dispersed them. This incident obliged the president to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular palisade with a lunette at each angle; and five pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was also found necessary to exercise the men at arms, to mount guard and be vigilant, for the Indians would surprise

* See Note D.

and

and molest stragglers, whilst by their superior agility they would escape unhurt.

The ships being almost ready to return, it was thought proper that some decision should be had respecting the allegations against Smith. His accusers affected commiseration, and pretended to refer him to the censure of the company in England, rather than to expose him to a legal prosecution, which might injure his reputation, or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly scorned their pretended pity, and defied their resentment. He had conducted himself so unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had rendered himself very popular, and his accusers had, by a different conduct, lost the affections and confidence of the people. Those who had been suborned to accuse him, acknowledged their fault, and discovered the secret arts which had been practised against him. He demanded a trial, and the issue was, that the president was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds; but when his property was seized in part of this satisfaction, Smith generously turned it into the common store, for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increase his popularity. Many other difficulties had arisen among them, which, by the influence of Smith, and the exhortations of Hunt, their chaplain,

lain, were brought to a seemingly amicable conclusion. Smith was admitted to his seat in the council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the same time the Indians came in, and voluntarily desired peace. With the good report of these transactions, Newport sailed for England, on the 22d of June, promising to return in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia consisted of one hundred and four persons, in very miserable circumstances *, especially on account of provisions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it consumed their stock, and deprived them of the opportunity of sowing seasonably in the spring. Whilst the ships remained, they could barter with the sailors for bread; but after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat, and as much barley per day. The river, which at the flood was salt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it also supplied them with sturgeon and shell-fish. This kind of food, with their continual labour in the heat of summer, and their frequent watchings by night in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on, with but a slight covering, produced diseases among them, which by the month of September carried off fifty persons,

* See Note E.

among

among whom was Captain Gosnold. Those who remained were divided into three watches, of whom not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time the president, Wingfield, who had the key of the stores, monopolized the few refreshments which remained, and was meditating to desert the plantation privately in the pinnace, and remove to the West Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him and elected Ratcliffe in his room; they also removed Kendal from his place in the council, so that by the middle of September three members only were left.

Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time the Indians in their neighbourhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith, seeing the necessity of exertion to secure themselves, and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work in mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and in a short time got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people, excepting

ing himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands, and embarked in a shallop which they had brought from England, to search the country for another supply.

The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries *. What was wanting in equipment was to be supplied by resolution and address, and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughton (Hampton), where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering an ear of corn in exchange for a musket or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and moreover provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be drawn on shore, and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses, in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a

* See Note F.

square,

square, carrying their idol Okee *, composed of skins stuffed with moss, and adorned with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced, singing, to the charge. The party received them with a volley of shot, which brought several of them to the ground, and their idol among them; the rest fled again to the woods, from whence they sent a deputation to offer peace, and redeem their god. Smith, having in his hand so valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to his own terms: he stipulated that six of them should come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend, and give them hatchets, beads, and copper. These stipulations were faithfully performed on both sides; and the Indians, in addition, presented them with venison, turkies, and other birds, and continued singing and dancing till their departure.

The success of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excursions by land and water, in the course of which he discovered several branches of James river, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whose fertile banks he hoped to supply the colony with provision; but industry abroad will not make a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risked his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonly expended; the traffic with

* See Note G.

the

the natives being under no regulations, each person made his own bargain; and by outbidding each other, they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy, and sowed the seeds of quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.

The shallop being again fitted for a trading voyage, whilst Smith was abroad on one of his usual rambles, and the people being discontented with the indolence of Ratcliffe, their president, and the long sickness of Martin, Wingfield, and Kendal, who had been displaced, took advantage of Smith's absence, and conspired with some malcontents to run away with the vessel, and go to England. Smith returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered. To prevent its execution, recourse was had to arms, and Kendal was killed. Another attempt of the same kind was made by Ratcliffe himself, assisted by Archer; but Smith found means to defeat this also. He determined to keep possession of the country, the value of which was daily rising in his estimation, not only as a source of wealth to individuals, but as a grand national object; and he knew that great undertakings could not be accomplished without labour and perseverance.

As

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild-fowl, which with the addition of corn, beans, and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony; but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were taken to his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage he went so high, that he was obliged to cut the trees, which had fallen into the river, to make his way through, as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head, and leaving his two men with the canoe, he went with his Indian guides across the meadows. A party of 300 Indians below had watched the motions of the boat. They first surprised the straggling crew, and made one of them prisoner, from whom they learnt that Smith was above. They next found the two men, whom he had left with the canoe, asleep by a fire, and killed them; then having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself thus assaulted and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides

with his garters to his left arm, and made use of him as a shield, whilst he dispatched three of his enemies, and wounded some others. He was retreating to his canoe, when, regarding his enemies more than his footsteps, he suddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud. The Indians, astonished at his bravery, did not approach him, till, almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw him out, which they did, and led him to the fire, where his slain companions were lying. This sight admonished him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for their chief Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith, having learnt something of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs, entertained them with a description of the nature and uses of the instrument, and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth, as amazed them, and suspended, for a time, the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to dispatch him with their arrows. At this instant the chief holding up the compass, which

which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of march was thus: they ranged themselves in single file, the king in the midst; before him were borne the arms taken from Smith, and his companions; next after the king came the prisoner, held by three stout savages, and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women, and children, came out to receive them. After some manœuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themselves round the king and his prisoner, into a circle, dancing and singing, adorned with paint, fur, and feathers, brandishing their rattles, which were made of the tails of rattlesnakes. After three dances they dispersed, and Smith was conducted to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was so plentifully feasted with bread and venison, that he suspected their intention was to fatten and eat him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads, brought him a garment of furs, to defend him from the cold; another, whose son was then sick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith, being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at James-town which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they

had another design, which was to surprise the place, and make use of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this service, they promised him his liberty, with as much land and as many women as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance, mines, and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them; and, to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket-book an inventory of what he wanted, with some directions to the people of the fort how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror into which they had been thrown; and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company was astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him through several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potowmack and Rappahannock, and at length brought him to Ramaunkee, where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine, whether his intentions toward them were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed, and the guard retired. Presently an Indian priest, hideously painted,

and dressed with furs and snake-skins, came skipping in, and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle with meal round the fire; then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance, three others. They all sat opposite to him in a line, the chief priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech, three more: this was repeated till the fire was encircled; then, continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting, and at night a feast was prepared of the best meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him, that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea-shore, and the sticks his country. They did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us, with the result of the operation; but he observed, that the gunpowder which they had taken from him was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies they brought him to the emperor Powhatan, who received him in royal state, clothed in a robe of racoon skins, seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the

floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; at each hand of the prince sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house a row of his counsellors, painted, and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance a great shout was made; the queen of Apamatox brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in, on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment Pocahontas, the king's favourite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender entreaties prevailed; the king consented that Smith should live to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her.

Two days after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahousick, and for ever esteem him as his son. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at James-town the next day. According to the stipulation, two guns and a large grindstone were

were offered them; but having in vain tried to lift them, they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and discharged a volley of stones at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them; but being pacified with a few toys, they returned, carrying presents to Powhatan and his daughter, of such things as gave them entire satisfaction. After this adventure, the young princess Pocahontas frequently visited the plantation, with her attendants, and the refreshments which she brought from time to time proved the means of saving many lives, which otherwise would have been lost.

Smith's return happened at another critical juncture: the colony was divided into parties, and the malcontents were again preparing to quit the country. His presence a third time defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valour and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony, during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and

qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service, but among those who offered themselves, and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities, and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is, perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say that he was the best qualified of them for command, since the event proved that none of them, who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprising spirit led to an exploration of the country, and acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages; and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour, of that infant plantation.

In the winter of 1607, Captain Newport arrived from England in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Captain Nelson, which sailed

sailed at the same time, was dismasted on the American coast, and blown off to the West Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity; but the general license given to the sailors to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence *; but in trading with the savage chief he found himself outwitted. Powhatan, in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus: "It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as we are, to trade like common people for trifles; lay down, therefore, at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them." Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it; but he, thinking to outbrave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store. Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured; and the necessary

* See Note H.

supplies

supplies could not have been had if Smith's genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of blue beads, which cunningly, in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him, and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the colour of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns in the universe. Powhatan's imagination was all on fire: he made large offers; Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn for about two pounds of blue beads; and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with his bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opecankanough, king of Pamaunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendour, and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means, the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Loaded with this acquisition they returned to James-town, where an unhappy fire had consumed several of their houses, with much of their provisions and furniture. Mr. Hunt, the chaplain,

lain, lost his apparel and library in this conflagration, and escaped from it with only the clothes on his back. This misfortune was severely felt. The ship staying in port fourteen weeks, and reserving enough for the voyage home, so contracted their stock of provisions, that, before the winter was gone, they were reduced to great extremity, and many of them died. The cause of the ship's detention for so long a time was this: in searching for fresh water in the neighbourhood of James-town, they had discovered in a rivulet some particles of a yellowish isinglass, which their sanguine imaginations had refined into gold-dust. The zeal for this precious matter was so strong, that in dressing, washing, and packing it, to complete the lading of the ship, all other cares were absorbed. This was a tedious interval to Captain Smith; his judgment condemned their folly, his patience was exhausted, and his passion irritated; and the only recompense which he had for this long vexation was, the pleasure of sending home Wingfield and Archer when the ship departed.

The other ship arrived in the spring, and, notwithstanding a long and unavoidable detention in the West Indies, brought them a comfortable supply of provisions. They took advantage of the opening season to rebuild their houses and chapel, repair the palisades, and plant corn for the ensuing

ensuing summer; in all which works the example and authority of Smith were of eminent service. Every man of activity was fond of him, and those of a contrary disposition were afraid of him. It was proposed that he should go into the country of the Monacans, beyond the fall of James river, that they might have some news of the interior parts to send home to the company; but a fray with the Indians detained him at James-town, till the ship sailed for England, laden chiefly with cedar, but not without another specimen of the yellow dust, of which Martin was so fond, that he took charge of the packages himself, and returned to England. An accession of above one hundred men, among whom were several goldsmiths and refiners, had been made to the colony by the two last ships, and a new member, Matthew Scrivener, was added to the council.

Having finished the necessary business of the season, and dispatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Captain Smith, and fourteen others. They went down the river, June 10, 1608, in an open barge, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, which they still bear; then, re-entering

tering the bay, they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly treated by Acomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded up the bay to the northward, and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers which fall into the bay on that side. One in particular attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there; and from its resemblance to bole ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the later it bears the Indian name Patapsco; on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of Baltimore. They sailed thirty miles up the Potowmack without seeing any inhabitants; but on entering a creek, found themselves surrounded by Indians, who threatened them. Smith prepared for an encounter; but on firing a few guns, the Indians, terrified at the noise, made signs of peace, and exchanged hostages. One of the company was by this means carried to the habitation of their prince, and the whole were kindly used. They

learnt

learnt that it was by direction of Powhatan that the Indians were in arms, and had attempted to surprise them: from this circumstance they were led to suspect that Powhatan had been informed of this expedition by the discontented part of the colony, whom Smith had obliged to stay in the country, when they would have deserted it.

It was Smith's invariable custom, when he met with the Indians, to put on a bold face, and if they appeared desirous of peace, to demand their arms, and some of their children, as pledges of their sincerity; if they complied, he considered them as friends; if not, as enemies. In the course of this voyage he collected some furs, and discovered some coloured earths, which the savages used as paints, but found nothing of the mineral kind. At the mouth of the Rappahanock the boat grounded, and whilst they were waiting for the tide, they employed themselves in sticking with their swords the fishes which were left on the flats. Smith having stuck his sword into a stingray, the fish raised its tail, and with its sharp indented thorn wounded him in the arm. The wound was extremely painful, and he presently swelled to that degree, that they expected him to die, and he himself gave them orders to bury him on a neighbouring island; but the surgeon, Dr. Russel, having probed the wound, by the help of a certain oil

so

so allayed the anguish and swelling, that Smith was able to eat part of the fish for his supper. From this occurrence, the place was distinguished by the name of Stingray Point, which it still bears.

On the 21st of July they returned to Jamestown. Having with the coloured earths which they had found, disguised their boat and streamers, their old companions were alarmed at their approach, with the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards. This was a trick of Smith to frighten the old president, who had rioted on the public stores, and was building a house in the woods, that he might seclude himself from the sickly, discontented, quarrelsome company. On Smith's arrival they signified their desire of investing him with the government. Ratcliffe being deposed, it fell to him of course; and having recommended Scrivener to preside in his absence, he entered on another voyage of discovery, being determined to spare no pains for a full exploration of the country.

From the 24th of July to the 7th of September, with twelve men in an open barge, he ranged the bay of Chesapeak as far northward as the falls of Susquehannah, entering all the rivers that flow into the bay, and examining their shores. In some places the natives were friendly, and in others jealous. Their idea of the strange visitors

visitors was, that they had come "from under the world to take their world from them." Smith's constant endeavour was to preserve peace with them; but when he could not obtain corn in the way of traffic, he never scrupled to use threats, and in some cases violence; and by one or the other method he prevailed so as to bring home a load of provisions for his discontented companions, who, without his efforts, would not have been able to live. Sickness and death were very frequent, and the latest comers were most affected by the disorders of the climate.

Smith was now established in the presidency by the election of the council, and the request of the company, but the commission gave to a majority of the council the whole power. Newport, at his third arrival, brought over two new members; and Ratcliffe having still a seat, though deposed from the presidency, Smith was obliged in some cases to comply with their opinions, contrary to his own judgment; an instance of which will now be exhibited.

The Virginia company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation, not only of finding precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea, from the mountains at the head of James river; and it was thought, that the journey thither might be performed

performed in eight or ten days. For the purpose of making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers, which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favour of Powhatan, through whose country the passage must be made; and as means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a basin and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown; all which were to be presented to him in due form, and the crown placed on his head with as much solemnity as possible. To a person who knew the country and its inhabitants so well as Smith, this project appeared chimerical, and the means whereby it was to be carried on, dangerous. With a small quantity of copper and a few beads, he could have kept Powhatan in good humour, and made an advantage of it for the colony; whereas a profusion of presents he knew would but increase his pride and insolence. The project of travelling over unknown mountains with men already weakened by sickness and worn out with fatigue, in a hot climate, and in the

midst of enemies, who might easily cut off their retreat, was too romantic even for his sanguine and adventurous spirit. His opinion upon the matter cannot be expressed in more pointed language than he used in a letter to the company *: "If the quartered boat was burned to ashes, one might carry her in a bag; but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls." His dissent, however, was ineffectual; and when he found that the voice of the council was for executing it, he lent his assistance to effect as much of it as was practicable.

Previously to their setting out, he undertook, with four men only, to carry notice to Powhatan, of the intended present, and invite him to come to James-town, that he might receive it there. Having travelled by land twelve miles to Werocomoco, on Pamaunkee (York) river, where he expected to meet Powhatan, and not finding him there, whilst a messenger was dispatched thirty miles for him, his daughter Pocahontas entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which for its singularity merits a particular description.

In an open plain, a fire being made, the gentlemen were seated by it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms, and seize on two or three old men as hostages for their own security, imagining they were betrayed. Upon this, the

* See Note I.

young

young princess came running to Smith, and passionately embracing him, offered herself to be killed if any harm should happen to him or his company. Her assurances, seconded by all the Indians present, removed all their fears. The noise which had alarmed them was made by thirty girls, who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, with no other covering than a girdle of green leaves, and their skins painted, each one of a different colour. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle, and another on one arm; a bow and arrow in the other hand, and a quiver at her back. The rest of them had horns on their heads, and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing they formed a ring round the fire, and performed a circular dance for above an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their caresses as with their attendance; and this being ended, they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of firebrands.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Smith delivered the message from his father Newport (as he always called him), to this effect: "that he had brought him from the king of England a

royal present, and wished to see him at Jamestown, that he might deliver it to him, promising to assist him in prosecuting his revenge against the Monacans, whose country they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains." To which the savage prince with equal subtilty and haughtiness answered, "If your king has sent me a present, I also am a king, and am on my own land; I will stay here eight days; your father must come to me—I will not go to him, nor to your fort. As for the Monacans, I am able to revenge myself. If you have heard of salt water beyond the mountains from any of my people, they have deceived you." Then, with a stick, he drew a plan of that region on the ground, and after many compliments the conference ended.

The present being put on board the boats, was carried down James river, and up the Pamaunkee, while Newport, with fifty men, went across by land and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought from the boats, the basin and ewer were deposited, the bed and chair were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, though not till Namontac (an Indian youth whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again) had assured him that these

these habiliments would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown, nor would he bend his knee, or incline his head in the least degree. After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him stoop a little, and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boat fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fears subsided, and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer-skin shoes, which in his estimation were doubtless a full equivalent, since all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the Indian country, or to approve their design of visiting it. Thus disappointed, they returned to James-town, determined to proceed without his assistance.

Smith, who had no mind to go on such a fruitless errand, tarried at the fort with eighty invalids to relade the ship, whilst Newport, with all the council, and one hundred and twenty of the healthiest men, began their transmontane tour of discovery. They proceeded in their boats to the falls, at the head of the river; from

thence they travelled up the country two days and a half, and discovered two towns of the Monacans, the inhabitants of which seemed very indifferent toward them, and used them neither well nor ill. They took one of their petty princes, and led him bound to guide them. Having performed this march, they grew weary and returned, taking with them in their way back, certain portions of earth, in which their refiner pretended that he had seen signs of silver. This was all the success of their expedition; for the savages had concealed their corn, and they could neither persuade them to sell it, nor find it to take it by force. Thus they returned to James-town, tired, disappointed, hungry, and sick, and had the additional mortification of being laughed at by Smith for their vain attempt.

The Virginia company had not only a view to the discovery of the South Sea, but also to establish manufactures in their colony; and for this purpose had sent over a number of workmen from Poland and Germany, who were skilled in making potashes and glass, as well as pitch and tar. Had the country been full of people, well cultivated and provided with all necessaries for carrying on these works, there might have been some prospect of advantage; but in a new region the principal objects are subsistence and defence; these will necessarily occupy the first adventurers

adventurers to the exclusion of all others. However, Smith was of so generous a disposition, and so indefatigable in doing what he apprehended to be his duty, and in gratifying his employers, that, as soon as Newport returned from his fruitless attempt to find the South Sea, he set all who were able to work, that he might, if possible, answer the expectations of the company. Those who were skilled in the manufactures, he left under the care of the council, to carry on their works, whilst he took thirty of the most active with him about five miles down the river to cut timber, and make clapboards; this being, as he well knew, an employment the most certain of success. Among these were several young gentlemen, whose hands, not having been used to labour, were blistered by the axes, and this occasioned frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. To punish them, Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be taken down daily, and at night as many cans of water to be poured inside his sleeve. This discipline was no less singular than effectual; it so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week, and withal it made them perfectly good-humoured, and reconciled them to their labour. At his return to the fort, he found not only that business had been neglected, but much provision consumed, and

that it was necessary for him to undertake another expedition for corn. He therefore went up the Chickahamony with two boats and eighteen men, and finding the Indians not in a humour for trading, but, rather, scornful and insolent, he told them that he had come, not so much for corn as to revenge his imprisonment, and the murder of his two men some time before. Putting his crew in a posture of attack, the Indians fled, and presently sent messengers to treat of peace; for the obtaining which, he made them give him an hundred bushels of corn, with a quantity of fish and fowls; and with this supply he kept the colony from starving, and preserved the ship's provisions, for her voyage to England. At her departure, she carried such specimens as could be had of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap ashes, clapboards, and wainscot; and at Point Comfort met with Scrivener, who had been up the Pamaunkee for corn, and had got a quantity of pocones, a red root used in dying; these being taken on board, Captain Newport returned to England the third time, leaving about two hundred persons in Virginia. The harvest of 1608 had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives; and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. As long as the rivers were

open,

open, he kept the boats continually going among the natives for such supplies as could be obtained; and he never would return empty, if any thing were to be had by any means in his power. Whilst abroad on these excursions, he and his men were obliged frequently to lodge in the woods, when the ground was hard frozen and covered with snow, and their mode of accommodating themselves was first to dig away the snow and make a fire; when the ground was dried and warmed, they removed the fire to one side, and spread their mats over the warm spot for their beds, using another mat for a screen from the wind; when the ground cooled, they shifted the fire again: by thus continually changing their position, they kept themselves tolerably warm through many a cold night; and it was observed, that those who went on this service, and submitted to these hardships, were robust and healthy, whilst those who staid at home were always weak and sickly.

The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprising Powhatan, and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince had formed a similar design respecting Smith; and for the purpose of betraying him had invited him to his seat, promising, that if he would send men to build him a house after the English

English mode, and gave him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him three Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with forty-six men, he found the prince so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation, in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavoured to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms *, as being there in perfect security, he retired in the evening, and formed a design to surprise Smith and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risk of her life, stole from the side of her father, and passing in the dark through the woods, told Smith with tears in her eyes of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper, Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and though there came divers sets of messengers, one after another, during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opechankanough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince

* See Note K.

put

put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with their bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party, and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the king by his hair, and holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there, with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people, not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him, but failed of success*. The chief of Paspiha, meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him, but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river, where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the entreaties of the poor victim prevailing on his humanity, he led him prisoner to James-town.

This intrepid behaviour struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise, which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, con-

* See Note L.

firmed

formed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from James-town, two others, who were known to be his companions, were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapour had so suffocated the prisoner, that, on the return of his brother at the appointed time, with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits of vinegar, he shewed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours' sleep; and being dismissed with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able to bring the dead to life. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia. He

He was equally severe and resolute with his own men; and finding many of them inclining to be idle, and this idleness, in a great measure, the cause of their frequent sicknesses and deaths, he made an order, that "he who would not work should not eat, unless he were disabled by sickness; and that every one who did not gather as much food in a day as he did himself, should be banished." A recent attempt having been made to run away with the boats, he ordered that the next person who should repeat the offence should be hanged. By firmness in the execution of these laws, and by the concurrent force of his own example in labouring continually, and distributing his whole share of European provisions and refreshments to the sick, he kept the colony in such order, that though many of them murmured at his severity, they all became very industrious, and withal so healthy, that, of two hundred persons, there died that winter and the next spring no more than seven. In the space of three months they had made a quantity of tar, pitch, and potashes, had produced a sample of glass, dug a well in the fort, built twenty new houses, provided nets and wires for fishing, erected a block-house on the isthmus of James-town, another on Hog Island, and had begun a fortress on a commanding eminence. As the spring came on, they paid such attention

to

to husbandry, as to have thirty or forty acres cleared and fit for planting, and a detachment had been sent to the southward, to look for the long-lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, but without success.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him from the persons whom he had sent home, who represented him as arbitrary and violent toward the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America at that day, that the only precedent which could be had were those of the Spaniards, who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. Whilst the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches might be acquired by other means; it was therefore thought politic to be gentle in demeanour and lavish of presents toward the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country.

country. On these principles the orders of the Virginia company to their servants were framed; but experience had taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers in the time and manner which they expected, yet he was far from abandoning it as worthless; his aim was thoroughly to explore it; and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense, and labour, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers; he had spent three years in their service, and, from his own observations, had drawn and sent them a map of the country; and he had conducted their affairs as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed set of men, to control, by the help of a few adherents, in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers, and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and jealous of strangers. To court them by presents was to acknowledge their superiority, and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men, and not children: though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art. To know

how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had certainly the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience had just learnt how to conduct it, when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.

The Virginia company had applied to the king to recall their patent, and grant another; in virtue of which, they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre general; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, general of horse; and Captain Newport (the only one of them who had seen the country), vice-admiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships; in which were embarked five hundred persons, men, women, and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport,

Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them who might first arrive, with power to call in the old and set up the new commission. The fleet sailed from England in May 1609; and by some strange policy the three commanders were embarked in one ship. This ship being separated from the others in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith, who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage; much of their provision was spoiled; many of their people were sick, and the season in which they arrived was not the most favourable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued: the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn and gone back to England; but his honour was concerned in maintaining his authority till he should be regularly superseded; and his spirit would not suffer him to be trampled on

by those whom he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able; waiting some proper opportunity to retire. Some of the most insolent of the new-comers "he laid by the heels." With the more moderate he consulted what was best to be done; and, as a separation seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he therefore kept up the form, and, as much as he could, the power of government, till an accident, which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the falls, sleeping by night in his boat, a bag of gunpowder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner. Awaking in surprise, and finding himself wrapt in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned before his companions could recover him. At his return to Jamestown in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have

have taken off their heads, but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percie to preside in his room, and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters, and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England about the latter end of September 1609, much regretted by his few friends, one of whom has left this character of him: "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers, he never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers, and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never seem to want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay. He loved action more than words, and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives, and his loss our deaths."

There needs no better testimony to the truth of this character, than what is related of the miserable colony after he had quitted it. Without government, without prudence, careless, indolent, and factious, they became a prey to the in-

solence of the natives, to the diseases of the climate, and to famine. Within six months their number was reduced from five hundred to sixty; and when the three commanders, who had been wrecked on Bermuda, arrived (1610) with one hundred and fifty men, in two small vessels, which they had built out of the ruins of their ship, and the cedars which grew on the island, they found the remnant of the colony in such a forlorn condition, that, without hesitation, they determined to abandon the country, and were sailing down the river, when they met a boat from the Lord de la Warre, who had come with a fleet to their relief. By his persuasion they resumed the plantation; and to this fortunate incident may be ascribed the full establishment of the colony of Virginia.

Such a genius as Smith's could not remain idle; he was well known in England; and the report of his valour, and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia. In April 1614, he sailed from London with two ships, and arrived at the island of Monahigon, in latitude 43½°, as it was then computed, where he built seven boats. The design of the voyage was to take whales, to examine a mine of gold, and another of copper, which

which were said to be there; and if either or both of these should fail, to make up the cargo with fish and furs. The mines proved a fiction, and by long chasing the whales to no purpose, they lost the best season for fishing; but whilst the seamen were engaged in these services, Smith, in one of his boats, with eight men, ranged the coast east and west, from Penobscot to Cape Cod, bartering with the natives for beaver and other furs, and making observations on the shores, islands, harbours, and head lands; which, at his return to England, he wrought into a map, and presenting it to Prince Charles (afterward the royal martyr) with a request that he would give the country a name, it was for the first time called New-England. The prince also made several alterations in the names which Smith had given to particular places. For instance, he had called the name of that promontory which forms the eastern entrance of Massachusetts Bay, Tregabigzanda, after the name of the Turkish lady, to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople; and the three islands which lie off the Cape, the Turks' Heads, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions, in his Transylvanian adventures. The former, Charles, in filial respect to his mother, called Cape Anne, which name it has ever since retained; the name of the islands has long since been lost; and ano-

ther cluster, to which he gave his own name, Smith's Isles, and which name the prince did not alter, are now, and have for more than a century been called the Isles of Shoals; so that the most pointed marks of his discoveries on the coast of New-England have, either by his own complaisance to the son of his sovereign, or by force of time and accidents, become obsolete. When he sailed for England in one of the ships, he left the other behind, to complete her lading, with orders to sell the fish in Spain. The master, Thomas Hunt, decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board, and sold them in Spain for slaves. The memory of this base transaction was long preserved among the Americans, and succeeding adventurers suffered on account of it.

At Smith's return to England he put in at Plymouth, where, relating his adventures, and communicating his sentiments to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was introduced to the Plymouth company of adventurers to North Virginia, and engaged in their service. At London he was invited by the South Virginia company to return to their service, but made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventurers as an excuse for declining their invitation. From this circumstance, it seems that they had been convinced of his former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters

and

and reports which they had formerly received to his disadvantage.

During his stay in London he had the very singular pleasure of seeing his friend Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Having been made a prisoner in Virginia, she was there married to Mr. John Rolfe, and by him was brought to England. She was then about twenty two years of age; her person was graceful, and her deportment gentle and pleasing. She had been taught the English language and the Christian religion, and baptized by the name of Rebecca. She had heard that Smith was dead, and knew nothing to the contrary till she arrived in England.

The fame of an Indian princess excited great curiosity in London; and Smith had the address to write a handsome letter to the queen *, setting forth the merits of his friend, and the eminent services she had done to him and the colony of Virginia. She was introduced by the Lady de la Warre; the queen and royal family received her with much complacency, and she proved herself worthy of their notice and respect. At her first interview with Smith she called him father; and because he did not immediately return the salutation and call her child, she was so overcome with grief, that she hid her face, and would not speak for some time. She was ignorant of the

* See Note K.

ridiculous affectation which reigned in the court of James; which forbade Smith assuming the title of father to the daughter of a king; and, when informed of it, she despised it, passionately declaring, that she loved him as a father, and had treated him as such in her own country, and would be his child wherever she went. The same pedantic affectation caused her husband to be looked upon as an offender, for having, though a subject, invaded the mysterious rights of royalty in marrying above his rank. This marriage, however, proved beneficial to the colony, as her father had thereby become a friend to them; and when she came to England, he sent with her Uttam accomac, one of his trusty counsellors, whom he enjoined to inquire for Smith, and tell him whether he was alive. Another order which he gave him was to bring him the number of people in England: accordingly, on his landing at Plymouth, the obedient savage began his account by cutting a notch on a long stick for every person whom he saw, but soon grew tired of his employment, and at his return told Powhatan that they exceeded the number of leaves of the trees. A third command from his prince was to see the God of England, and the king, queen, and princes, of whom Smith had told him so much; and when he met with Smith, he desired to be introduced to those personages,

sonages. He had before this seen the king, but would not believe it; because the person whom they had pointed out to him had not given him any thing. "You gave Powhatan," said he to Smith, "a white dog, but your king has given me nothing." Mr. Rolfe was preparing to return with his wife to Virginia, when she was taken ill and died at Gravesend, leaving an infant son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of note in Virginia, who held their lands by inheritance from her.

Smith conceived such an idea of the value and importance of the American continent, that he was fully bent on the business of plantation, rather than fishing and trading for furs. In this he agreed with his friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and a few other active members of the council of Plymouth, but it had become an unpopular theme. One colony had been driven home from Sagadahock by the severity of the season and the death of their leaders. Men who were fit for the business were not easily to be obtained; those who had formerly been engaged were discouraged; and it required great strength of mind, as well as liberality of purse, to set on foot another experiment. After much trouble in endeavouring to unite persons of opposite interests, and stimulate those who had sustained former losses, to new attempts, he obtained one ship of two hundred

hundred tons, and another of fifty, with which he sailed in 1615. Having proceeded about one hundred and twenty leagues, they were separated in a storm; the smaller one, commanded by Captain Thomas Dermer, pursued her voyage; but Smith, having lost his masts, was obliged to put back under a jury-mast to Plymouth. There he put his stores on board a small bark of sixty tons and thirty men, of whom sixteen were to assist him in beginning a new colony.

Meeting with an English pirate, his men would have had him surrender; but though he had only four guns, and the pirate thirty-six, he disdained to yield. On speaking with her, he found the commander and some of the crew to be his old shipmates, who had run away with the ship from Tunis, and were in distress for provisions. They offered to put themselves under his command, but he rejected the proposal, and went on his voyage. Near the Western Islands he fell in with two French pirates; his men were again thrown into a panic, and would have struck, but he threatened to blow up the ship if they would not fight; and, by firing a few running shot, he escaped them also. After this he was met by four French men of war, who had orders from their sovereign to seize pirates. He shewed them his commission under the great seal, but they perfidiously detained him, whilst they

they suffered his ship to escape in the night, and return to Plymouth. They knew his enterprising spirit, and were afraid of his making a settlement in New-England, so near to their colony of Acadia; and they suspected, or, at least, pretended to suspect, that he was the person who had broken up their fishery at Port Royal (which was really done by Captain Argal) the year before.

When their cruise was finished, they carried him to Rochelle; and, notwithstanding their promises to allow him a share of the prizes which they had taken whilst he was with them, they kept him as a prisoner on board a ship at anchor; but a storm arising, which drove all the people below, he took the boat, with an half-pike for an oar, thinking to make his escape in the night. The current was so strong, that he drifted to sea, and was near perishing. By the turn of the tide he got ashore on a marshy island, where some fowlers found him in the morning, almost dead with cold and hunger. He gave them his boat to carry him to Rochelle, where he learnt that the ship which had taken him, with one of her prizes, which was very rich, had been driven on shore in that storm, and lost, with her captain, and one half of the men.

There he made his complaint to the judge of the

the admiralty, and produced such evidence in support of his allegations, that he was treated with fair words; but it does not appear that he got any recompense. He met here and at Bourdeaux with many friends, both French and English, and at his return to England published in a small quarto an account of his two last voyages, with the depositions of the men who were in the ship when he was taken by the French. To this book he prefixed his map of New-England, and in it gave a description of the country, with its many advantages, and the proper methods of rendering it a valuable acquisition to the English dominions. When it was printed, he went all over the west of England, giving copies of it to all persons of note, and endeavouring to excite the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to engage with earnestness in the business of colonizing America. He obtained from many of them fair promises, and was complimented by the Plymouth company with the title of Admiral of New-England; but the former ill success of some too sanguine adventurers had made a deep impression, and a variety of cross incidents baffled all his attempts.

However, his experience and advice were of infinite service to others. The open frankness and generosity of his mind led him to give all the encouragement which he could to the business

ness of fishing and planting in New-England; for which purpose, in 1622, he published a book, entitled, "New England's Tryals," some extracts from which are preserved by Purchas *. No man rejoiced more than himself in the establishment of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts.

When the news of the massacre of the Virginian planters by the Indians (1622) arrived in England, Smith was all on fire to go over to revenge the insult. He made an offer to the company, that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with the necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, keep the natives in awe, protect the planters, and make discoveries of the hitherto unknown parts of America; and for his own risk and pains would desire nothing but what he would "produce from the proper labour of the savages." On this proposal the company was divided; but the pusillanimous and avaricious party prevailed, and gave him this answer: "That the charges would be too great; that their stock was reduced; that the planters ought to defend themselves; but, that if he would go at his own expense, they would give him *leave*, provided he would give them one half of the *pil-*

* Vol. v. p. 1837.

lage."

lage." Such an answer could be received only with contempt.

When the King, in 1624, instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his opinion and advice respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation with a prospect of success*. These, with many other papers, he collected and published in 1627, in a thin folio, under the title of, "The General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Somer Isles." The narrative part is made up of journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation, intermixed with his own observations: his intimate friend, Mr. Purchas, had published most of them two years before in his "Pilgrim."

In 1629, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, he published a history of the early part of his life, entitled, "The true Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith." This work is preserved entire in the second volume of

* Agreeably to Smith's advice to these commissioners, King Charles I. at his accession, dissolved the company in 1626, and reduced the colony under the immediate direction of the crown, appointing the governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name.

Churchill's

Churchill's Collections, and from it the former part of this account is compiled. In the conclusion he made some additions to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New-England, and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge after the publication of his General History. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1628 at five thousand, and their cattle about the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco; but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great abundance and perfection. From New-England they received salted fish; but of fresh fish their own rivers produced enough, beside an infinite quantity of food, as their woods did of deer and other game. They had two brew-houses, but they cultivated the Indian corn in preference to the European grain: their plantations were scattered, some of their houses were palisaded, but they had no fortifications nor ordnance mounted.

His account of New-England is, that the country had been represented by adventurers from the west of England as rocky, barren, and desolate; but that since his account of it had been published, the credit of it was so raised, that forty or fifty sail went thither annually in fishing and trading voyages: that nothing had been done to any purpose in establishing a plantation

till "about an hundred Brownists went to New-Plymouth, whose humorous ignorance caused them to endure a wonderful deal of misery with infinite patience."

He then recapitulates the history of his American adventures in the following terms: "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith: how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with a hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, and by the King of Pamaunkee tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down their country to be shewn for a wonder; fatted, as he thought, for a sacrifice to their idol, before whom they conjured three days, with strange dances and invocations; then brought before their Emperor Powhatan, who commanded him to be slain; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to James-town, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight-and-thirty, to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations on the rivers falling into the Bay of Chesapeak; how he was stung almost to death by the poisonous tail of a fish called a stingray; how he was blown up with gunpowder, and returned to England to be cured.

"Also how he brought New-England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain; his fights,

fights; left alone among Frenchmen of war, and his ship run from him; his sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France, in a little boat, he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split or driven on shore by the isle of Rhee, the general and most of his men drowned, when GOD, to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore, to the admiration of all who escaped: you may read at large in his General History of Virginia, the Somer Islands, and New England."

This was probably his last publication, for he lived but two years after. By a note in Josselyn's voyage, it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age.

It would give singular pleasure to the compiler of these memoirs, if he could learn from any credible testimony that Smith ever received any recompense for his numerous services and sufferings. The sense which he had of this matter, in 1627, shall be given in his own words: "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New-England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

NOTES TO THE PRECEDING LIFE.

Note A, p. 273.

IN the "Travels of John Bell, of Antermony," from St. Petersburgh to Pekin, in 1720, he describes two ingenious inventions, which were then in use in China; and the reader will probably recognise in them the telegraph of modern days.

"Near the populous city of Siang Fu (says our author), we met with many turrets upon the road, called post-houses, erected at certain distances from one another, with a flag-staff, on which is hoisted the Imperial pendant. These turrets are so contrived as to be in sight of one another, and by signals they can convey intelligence of any remarkable event. By this means the court is informed in the speediest manner imaginable, of whatever disturbance may happen in the most remote provinces of the empire.

"These posts are also very useful, by keeping the country free from highwaymen; for should a person escape at one house, on a signal being made, he would certainly be stopped at the next." What was the peculiar construction of these signals Mr. Bell does not state; but as they were capable "of conveying intelligence of any remarkable event in the speediest manner imaginable," they must have been more than mere pendants on a flag-staff.

Note B, p. 278.

The unfortunate issue of Raleigh's attempt to make a settlement in America, together with the war in Spain, which continued for several years, gave a check to the spirit of colonizing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was revived by Bartholomew Gosnold, an intrepid mariner in the west of England. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the north-

ern

ern part of Virginia, does not appear; but, on the 26th of March 1602, he sailed from Falmouth, in Cornwall, in a small bark, with thirty-two men. Instead of going by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies, he kept as far north as the winds would permit, and was the first Englishman who sailed in a direct course to that part of America.

On the 14th of May they made land, and continued for some days to coast towards the south; on the 19th they came to an uninhabited island, to which they gave the name of Martha's Vineyard. John Brierton, one of the company, was the first that landed on this fair island, as he calls it, and, in truth, from the description that he has given of this charming spot, it well deserved that epithet. It abounded with "a great variety of wood, vines, and berries," with fowl of every wing: here they saw some deer, and took abundance of cod. On the 25th they came to anchor "in one of the finest sounds they had ever seen;" to which they gave the name of Gosnold's Hope. On the northern side was the main, and on the southern parallel, at the distance of four leagues, was a large island, which they called Elizabeth, in honour of the queen. On this island they determined to take up their abode; and, perhaps, in the whole range of that extensive coast, they could not have pitched upon a more enchanting place. It is now called by its Indian name, Naushan. They fixed upon a small islet in the middle of a fresh lake, as a safe and pleasant place to build their fort. They found the natives extremely civil, very just in their dealings, and ready to render them every service in their power: some of them helped the English to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as the furs which they bought of the Indians, the vessel was loaded.

After spending three weeks in preparing a storehouse, when they came to divide their provision, there was not enough to victual the ship, and to support the planters till the ship's return. After five days consultation, they determined, with regret, to relinquish their design of planting, and to return to England. On

the 18th of June they set sail, and on the 23d of July they arrived at Exmouth.

Captain Gosnold, after his return to England, was unremitting in his exertion to promote the plantation of a colony in America, and was one of those (as already related) who embarked in the next expedition for Virginia, where he had the rank of a counsellor, and where he died in the year 1607.

Gosnold's Journal is extant at large in Purchas's Collection, vol. v. p. 1647.

Note C, p. 278.

Mr. Hunt appears, from all accounts, to have been a man of unaffected piety and learning; and if his strength of body had been equal to the vigour of his mind, he would have rendered the company still more service. He was steadily attached to Smith, because he could appreciate the frankness of his disposition, the resources of his mind on all trying occasions, and because he saw that the happiness and glory of his country were the real objects of his pursuit.

Note D, p. 282.

"Powhatan's house was situate in a thicket of wood, in which he kept his kind of treasure, as skins, copper, pearl, and beads, which he stored up against the time of his death and burial. Here also is his store of red paint, for ointment, bows and arrows, targets and clubs. This house is fifty or sixty yards in length, frequented only by priests. At the four corners of this house stand four images as sentinels, one of a dragon, another a bear, the third like a leopard, and the fourth like a giant-like man, all made evil-favouredly, according to their best workmanship.

"He has as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sits at his head and another at his feet; but when he sits, one sits on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary

weary of his women, he bestows them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dines or sups, one of his women, before and after meat, brings him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waits with a bunch of feathers to wipe them instead of a towel, and the feathers, when he has wiped, are dried again. His kingdoms descend not to his sons, nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof he has three, namely, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease, to his sisters: first to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heirs, male or female, of the eldest sister, but never to the heirs of the males.

"He nor any of his people understood any letters, whereby to write or read, only the law whereby he rules is custom: yet when he listeth his will is a law, and must be obeyed; not only as a king, but as half a god they esteem him. His inferior kings, whom they call Werowances, are tied to rule by customs, and have power of life and death at their command in that nature; but this word, Werowance, which we call and construe for a king, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call Werowance, or Caucorouse, which is captain. They all know their several lands, habitations, and limits, to fish, fowl, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay tribute of skins, beads, copper, pearl, deer, turkies, wild beasts, and corn. What he commands they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all these people obey this Powhatan,; for, at his feet they present whatsoever he commands, and at the least frown of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with fear; and no marvel, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, he caused certain malefactors to be bound hand and foot; then, having of many fires gathered great store of burning coals, they rake these coals round in the form of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broil to death. Sometimes he

causeth the heads of them that offend him to be laid upon the altar, or sacrificing stone, and one with clubs beats out their brains. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and with mussel-shells, or reeds, the executioner cuts off his joints one after another, ever casting what they cut off into the fire; then he proceeds with shells and reeds to case the skin from his head and face; then do they rip his belly, and so burn him with their feet and all. Thus, themselves reported, they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels: we have seen a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatan's command, two men have beat him on the bare skin till he has fallen senseless in a swoon, and yet never cried nor complained. And he made a woman, for playing the whore, sit upon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty-four hours, only with corn and water, every three days, till nine days were past, yet he loved her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common prostitutes by profession."

Smith's Discoveries of Virginia.

Note E, p. 284.

Thomas Studley, the first Cape merchant in Virginia, has left the following description of the calamitous situation of the colonists in the interval of the first supply:

"Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten days scarce ten amongst us could either go, or well stand, such extreme weakness and sickness oppressed us; and thereat none need marvel, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this: whilst the ship staid, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of bisket, which the sailors would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us for money, saxefras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer-house, nor place of relief, but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints; but our president would never have been admitted, for ingrossing to his private use oatmeal,

oatmeal, sack, oil, aqua vitæ, beef, eggs, or what not, but the kettle; that, indeed, he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was half a pint of wheat, and as much barley boiled with water, for a man a day; and this having fried some 26 weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corn. Our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air. With this lodging and diet, our extreme toil in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continual labour in the extremity of the heat had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world. From May to September, those that escaped lived upon sturgeon and sea-crabs; fifty in this time we buried, the rest, seeing the president's projects to escape these miseries in our pinnace by flight (who all this time had never felt want nor sickness), so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him, and established Ratcliffe in his place (Gosnold being dead); Kendal deposed Smith newly recovered; Martin and Ratcliffe were by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the soldiers recovered, with the skilful diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton, our chirurgion general. But now was all our provision spent, the sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each hour expected the fury of the savages, when God, the patron of all good endeavours, in that desperate extremity so changed the hearts of the savages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provisions, as no man wanted."

NOTE F, p. 286.

Jo. Done wrote a detailed account of this excursion, in which he calls Smith "a genius of adventurous wing," and "the nursing father of the infant colony."

NOTE G, p. 287.

"THERE is not in Virginia a place discovered to be so savage in which they have not a religion, deer, and bow and arrows.

All things that are able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kind of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance, horses, &c.; but their chief god they worship is an evil spirit, which they call Okee, and serve him more of fear than of love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as near to his shape as they can imagine. In their temples they have his image evil-favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chains of copper and beads, and covered with a skin in such a manner, as the deformity may well suit with such a god: by him is commonly the sepulchre of their kings." *Smith's Discoveries in Virginia.*

Note H, p. 297.

"But finding all things well, by two or three hundred savages they were kindly conducted to their town. Where Powhatan strained himself to the utmost of his greatness to entertain them, with great shouts of joy, orations of protestations, and with the most plenty of victuals he could provide to feast them. Sitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather embroidered (after their rude manner, with pearl and white beads), his attire, a fair robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle; at his head and feet a handsome young woman; on each side his house sat twenty of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chain of white beads about each of their necks. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more than forty platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two files on each side the door. Four or five hundred people made a guard behind them for our passage, and proclamation was made, none, upon pain of death, to presume to do us any wrong or discourtesy." *Walter Russel, one of the Colonists.*

NOTE I, p. 306.

A Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Council of Virginia from Captain SMITH, *then President in Virginia.*

"RIGHT HONOURABLE, &c.

"I RECEIVED your letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction and idle conceits, in dividing the country without your consent, and that we feed you but with *ifs* and hopes, and some few proofs; as if we would keep the mystery of the business to ourselves, and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain Newport; the charge of whose voyage amounts to near two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the ship's return, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly entreat your pardons, if I offend you with my rude answer.

"For our factions, unless you would have me run away and leave the country, I cannot prevent them; because I do make many stay that would else fly any whither. For the idle letter sent to my Lord Salisbury by the president and his confederates, for dividing the country, &c. what it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it, nor ever dreamt I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c.: though I be no scholar, I am past a school-boy, and I desire but to know what either you and these here do know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continual hazard of my life, I have not concealed from you any thing I know. But I fear some cause you to believe much more than is true. Expressly to follow your directions by Captain Newport, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to your commission I was content to be over-ruled by the major part of the council, I fear to the hazard of us all, which now is generally confessed when it is too late; only Captain Winne and Captain Waldo I have sworn of the council, and crowned Powhatan according to your instructions. For the charge of this voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds; and for the

the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the falls, Newport had 120 of the best men he could choose. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag; but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls. And for him, at that time, to find in the South Sea a mine of gold, or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, at our consultation, I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirty miles (which might as well have been done by one man, and much more for the value of a pound of copper at a seasonable time), they had the pinnace and all the boats with them, but one that remained with me to serve at the fort. In their absence I followed the new-begun works of pitch and tar, glass, soap-ashes, and clapboard, whereof some small quantities we have sent you; but if you rightly consider what an infinite toil it is in Russia and Swethland, where the woods are proper for nought else; and though there be the help both of man and beast in those ancient commonwealths, which many an hundred year have used it, yet thousands of those poor people can scarce get necessaries to live, but from hand to mouth; and though your factors there can buy as much in a week as will freight you a ship, or as much as you please, you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but as many of miserable ignorant souls, that are scarce able to get wherewith to live, and defend ourselves against the inconstant savages, finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things else the Ruffians have. For the coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I fear they will be the confusion of us all, ere we hear from you again. At your ship's arrival, the savages' harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our own not being half sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships' loading of corn Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us fourteen bushels; and from the Monacans nothing, but the most of the men sick, and near famished. From your ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty

pounds;

pounds; and we are more than two hundred to live upon this; the one half sick, the other little better. For the sailors, I confess, they daily make good cheer, but our diet is a little meal and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the sea, fowls in the air, and beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wild, and we so weak and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captain Newport we much suspect to be the author of those inventions. Now that you should know I have made you as great a discovery as he, for less charge than he spendeth you every meal, I have sent you this map of the bay and rivers, with an annexed relation of the countries and nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large; also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good iron ore at the least; so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The soldiers say, many of your officers maintain their families out of that you send us, and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a year for carrying news; for every master you have yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pounds might be spared, which is more than we have all that help to pay him wages. Captain Ratcliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poor counterfeited impostor. I have sent you him home, lest the company should cut his throat. What he is now, every one can tell you; if he and Archer return again, they are sufficient to keep us always in factions. When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for, except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus, if you please to consider this account, and if the unnecessary wages to Captain Newport for his ship's so long lingering and staying here, for (notwithstanding his boasting to leave us victuals for twelve months, though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sick, and but a pint of corn a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three hogsheads

of

of that to victual him homeward), or yet to send into Germany or Poland for glassmen; so the rest, till we be able to sustain ourselves, and relieve them when they come, it were better to give five hundred pound a ton for those gross commodities in Denmark, than send for them hither till more necessary things be provided; for, in over-toiling our weak and unskilful bodies, to satisfy this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another; and I humbly entreat you, hereafter let us know what we should receive, and not stand to the sailors' courtesy to leave us what they please, else you may charge us with what you will, but we not you with any thing. These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation, that we might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not look for any profitable returns. So I humbly rest."

NOTE K, p. 327.

The most high and virtuous Princess, Queen ANNE *of Great Britain.*

"MOST ADMIRED QUEEN,

"THE love I bear my God, my king, and country, hath so oft emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present your Majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime if I should omit any means to be thankful: so it is,

"That some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, then chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquans, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage; and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first

first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fatting amongst those savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James-town, where I found about eight-and-thirty miserable, poor, sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as, had the savages not fed us, we directly had starved.

"And this relief, most gracious queen, was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all those passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have oft been appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not; but of this I am sure, when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice, to escape his fury, which had he known, he had surely slain her. James-town, with her wild train, she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and, during the time of two or three years, she next, under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which, if in those times had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival, until this day; since, then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at. It is most certain, after a long and troublesome war, after my departure, between her father and our colony, all which time she was not heard of, about

two

two years after she herself was taken prisoner, being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman; a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered, and well understood, worthy a prince's understanding. Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your Majesty what at your best leisure our approved histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesty's life; and however this might be presented to you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart. As yet I never begged any thing of the estate, or any; and it is my want of ability, and her exceeding deserts, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself, her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majesty: the most and least I can do is to tell you this, because none so oft has tried it as myself; and the rather, being of so great a spirit, however her stature, if she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means, her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury as to divert all this good to the worst of evil, when, finding so great a queen should do her some honour, more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest blood to effect that, your Majesty and all the king's honest subjects most earnestly desire; and so I humbly kiss your gracious hands."

AN ORIGINAL SONNET

By Queen ELIZABETH. 1555.

O FORTUNE! how thy restless, wavering state
Hath fraught with cares my troubled wit!
Witness this present prison, whither fate
Hath torn me, and thy joys I quit.
Thou caus'dst the guilty to be loos'd
From bands, wherewith are innocents enclos'd,
Causing the guiltless to be straight reserv'd,
And freeing those that death had well deserv'd;
But by her envy can be nothing wrought,
So, God send to my foes all I have thought.

LETTER

From the late Lord ALDBOROUGH *to* J. H. *Esq.*

Beton, 21st September 178z.

SIR,

I HOPE you have duly received the several packets sent you, which, with all subsequent ones, I shall request to have again. I send you eighteen newspapers, wherein the paragraphs crossed, bearing relation to me, were either written by me or addressed to me by way of mention,

mention. There are many other letters of mine under various signatures, which have appeared in the papers according to the occurrences, and urgency of the times, which may easily be guessed at by the subject matter being of national import and utility. Though I have varied my style, I hope, in any use you think fit to make of them, that, where personal invectives occurred under a fictitious name, you will leave a blank, or put only the initials, as I rather wish to lash the vice than the person, and without exposing any one to obloquy, however merited, to prevent their farther impositions on the public, for whom I have the highest respect, and to whom, indeed, I feel myself much indebted for the countenance and support they give my feeble endeavours in their service. My next packet will finish Patricius's letters, and probably close such of my parliamentary speeches as I can recollect or get at, as well as one or two I had intended to speak, but was, I forget how, prevented from doing. His Grace of Leinster, as I thought, very properly, promised in the House of Lords the 18th of last June, to move to expunge from our Journals the protest of Lord Townshend; and Lord Mornington not only seconded such his declaration, but vehemently declared he would also move for the expunging of Sir S. Sidney's and Lord Strafford's protests, and any

any others that intrenched upon the rights and privileges of the House of Lords, or the honour of Ireland. However, it has all ended in smoke, though I frequently reminded them to fulfil their engagement. What motives induced them to drop so praiseworthy a design, I cannot think; but I shall take it up next session if they do not.

There are other notes I took not long since from classical authors, Plutarch and others, which, if I can find, I shall send you. I did intend, when leisure admitted, to have classed them all in marginal notes to a publication I had thoughts of doing, of the part I have taken in politics during my being a member of the lower house of Parliament in both kingdoms, and since I succeeded to a seat in the upper house of Parliament; but I fancy you will supersede the necessity of such publication.

I am, Sir,

With much esteem,

Your very humble servant,

ALDBOROUGH.

The English papers sent will shew the sense that nation has of my sentiments on these late momentous occurrences.

SAMUEL CLARKE, D. D.*

RECTOR of St. James's, Westminster, in each several part of useful knowledge and critical learning, perhaps, without a superior; in all united, certainly without an equal; in his works, the best defender of religion; in his practice, the greatest ornament to it; in his conversation, communicative, and in an uncommon manner instructive; in his preaching and writings, strong, clear, and calm; in his life, high in the esteem of the wise, the good, and the great; in his death, lamented by every friend to learning, truth, and virtue. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, 17th May, MDCCXXIX.

GENERAL BLAKENEY.

WILLIAM Blakeney, Esq. was born at Mount Blakeney, in the county of Limerick, in Ireland, in 1672. His father was representative for the borough of Kilmallock; and the son carried a pair of colours, under Lord Cutts, at the siege of Venlo, in 1702, when he distinguished himself in storming Fort St. Michael; and he once exercised the whole allied army by beat of drum and waving of the colours, for the entertainment of

* Found in the hand-writing of the late Dr. Benson.

some-

some German princes, who visited the camp at Roscndale. In January 1733, he was made lieutenant-colonel of Lord Molesworth's regiment of dragoons, and afterwards obtained a regiment, with which he was sent in the fatal expedition to Carthagena, in 1741, where he acted as brigadier-general, and conducted the successful attack upon Boca Chica castle. (History of the War, vol. i. p. 113 and 141.) He was constituted a brigadier-general on the British establishment the 26th of February 1742, and that year he commanded the two squadrons of horse which obliged the 150 revolters belonging to the regiment of Highlanders to surrender in Lady-Woods, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. (Ib. vol. ii. p. 269, 272.) In March 1744, he was appointed quarter-master-general of the troops in Scotland; and in April 1745, he was made a major-general. (Ibid. vol. iii. p. 496.) The same year he commanded the castle of Stirling, which he bravely defended against all the rebel army, till the siege was raised by the Duke of Cumberland, who highly commended his services for the gallant defence of such an important fortress. (Ibid. vol. iv. p. 120, 183, 193.) In 1746, he was made lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, and appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. In 1747, he was made lieutenant-governor of Minorca; and in 1748, a lieutenant-general. (Ibid. p. 506.) In 1753, he

was appointed governor of Fort St. Philip, and was then colonel of the 27th regiment of foot. The military character of General Blakeney was built on a service of threescore years; and he was in the 82d year of his age when the French invaded Minorca. He was afterwards made a Knight of the Bath, and created an Irish peer, in reward for his gallant defence of Fort St. Philip.

ORIGINAL LETTER,

In the Collection belonging to that most useful and excellent Institution, the Dublin Library Society, in Eustace Street.

Herren Hausen, June 10th, 1727.

SIR,

I GIVE you many thanks for your letter, in which you notify to me the Czarina's death, and enclose the list of the ships under your command. I give you, in return, the news of peace, of which the preliminaries were signed at Paris on the 31st past, N. S. and that great hopes are given me that I shall soon see the King. I should be glad, when your campaign is over, you would make your court here to his Majesty, that I might have opportunity to make personal acquaintance with you, since nobody can have a greater esteem for you, Sir, than

FREDERICK.

SIR HENRY BUTLER.

Extract from the Papers of Sir HENRY BUTLER, *of the* ORMOND *Family, delivered at the Quarter-sessions, held at Londonderry, the 21st of January* 1655.

GENTLEMEN, AND GOOD PEOPLE,

IN obedience to this command, and in pursuance to the trust reposed in us by this commission, which you have heard, we are thus publicly and openly assembled here this day; a day which is to us a calm after a tempest—a sunshine after a fog—a time of peace and tranquillity after the horror and confusion of an intestine war, and the distraction of an unsettled commonwealth. It were but loss of time and labour to descant on the present state of things, or to cast into the balance the advantages and emoluments of a peaceable and orderly government, with the spoils, rapines, and innumerable calamities of a rebellious and domestic war: you all, that are now partakers of the benefits of the one, can give a more ample and judicious account, having a more distinct remembrance, and some of you a woful experience, of the effects of the other. Religion, the mother of Peace; Plenty, the

daughter, and Law the guardian; how often, how long have they been obscured, estranged, and ravished from us, and, in their stead, heresy had misguided us, famine devoured us, and the lawless arbitrary humours of evil men undone us! But now, through the great goodness of God, and the prudent care of him that governs us, we begin to recover from our miseries, and to return to our pristine establishment. Religion is presented to us in so many shapes, and preached to us by so many mouths of all sorts, that, unless we be blind and deaf, we cannot miss it. Plenty was never more generally, more sensibly known to this nation. The windows of heaven are largely opened, and the fertile womb of the earth hath prodigally delivered her burden to our comfort and refreshment, insomuch, that I might well say (but that Latin is forbidden), there is a *cornucopiæ* among you.

The laws, which the loud clamour of war had so long silenced, do now speak aloud in our ears; the courts are re-erected, and the law-books thrown open in our mother tongue: we can now, without relying on the subtlety and sophisms of the lawyers, and the weak crutches of human learning, pry into those secrets which were hidden from our forefathers, and speak our minds in plain English. A ready instance and confirmation hereof is our free and unmolested meeting here

here this day; where, according to the several articles empowering us to sit down here, I shall briefly inform such as know not, and put in mind such as know already, their duty and business in this place. Two sorts of things are here to be taken notice of: first, such things as are not properly cognizable, but only to be heard and inquired after; secondly, such things as may be here heard and inquired after. Of the first sort are treasons and felonies, the several kinds whereof I shall not need particularly to enumerate and explain, they being not the proper business of this court; the other sort are venial or fineable offences. Some other things I shall briefly run over, and only name them, they being most frequent and epidemical vices of this country, too well known among us.

LETTER

From Lord BELLFIELD *to the Right Hon. Lord* GEORGE SACKVILLE, *late Lord* GEORGE GERMAINE.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE newspapers have given you a wife, with so many other good things, that there seems to

be nothing left for your friends to wish you, but a long and uninterrupted enjoyment of them. Be assured, my Lord, you have few amongst them who partake more largely of this addition of felicity to you, nor is there one who more sincerely or earnestly desires its continuance, than my dear Lord's

Most faithful and affectionate

BELLENDEN.

Belvedere, 19th September 1754.

Your Lordship will do me a very particular honour by presenting my congratulations to my Lord-lieutenant upon this occasion.

LETTER

From Mr. THOMAS HEARNE, *the celebrated Antiquary, to Mr.* JOHN BAGFORD.

SIR,

I RECEIVED all your three parcels, with the letters, for which I return you hearty thanks. The speech of Sir Symonds Dewes I had not before seen. Mr. Wood, in his Antiquities of Oxon, has clearly answered the several objections brought by him concerning the antiquity of Cambridge,

bridge, though, had he said nothing against him, they would have fallen of themselves, having in them nothing of solidity. I hope your work goes on with success, and I am glad you are continually improving your collections. I wish you could bring the whole into a very narrow compass. As you find it takes, you may then improve upon it, and make additions. An exact catalogue of ancient books will be of excellent use to scholars, there being hardly any thing of this kind but what is done by Beughens, which is slight and negligent, and not performed like a scholar. When you are discoursing about the ancient way of binding books, it will be worth your while to have recourse to what Is. Vossius has said upon that subject, in his notes upon Catullus, page 51: and in your comparison of printing and guns, you may, perhaps, have occasion for what Ger. Vossius has said in one of his epistles in reference to the year when guns were invented, viz. Epis. 83. 483. You must be sure to be exact in shewing the use of printing; in order to which, an exact and nice account of the corruptions of the scribes in copying MSS. will be necessary: for this you must have an eye upon Du Fresne's excellent preface to his Latin Glossary. But I think I need not give you any hints when you have the directions of so many, who are better judges of the undertaking, and much better

better qualified for referring you to authors. I had writ sooner, but that my time is almost wholly taken up in Livy, the text whereof and the epitome is quite finished. I am now consulting the notes, in which I think to add the Duillian inscription, another of Scipio Barbatus, published by Simand, with the ancient shield retrieved by Dr. Woodward. This last, I know, is run down by several, but I wish when they decry things they would give substantial reasons. The same objections they offer might be alleged against that in Spon of Scipio Africanus, which, however, was never questioned that I know of. But I believe the reason of battering the Doctor is rather on account of his person than any thing they can discover in the shield to shew it modern. I have collected several fragments not so much as taken notice of by Gronovius, one I had from a MS. and even those I have had from printed books, I have much improved from MS. copies in Oxon. I wish Priscian and the other grammarians published by Putschius, were reprinted with the several emendations and additions that might be made from MSS. Putschius himself had resolved to have put out another volume with castigations, addenda, &c.; but he died before he could finish it, in the bloom of his age. Priscian has a vast number of fragments of ancient

authors,

authors, and therefore the more critically the collating part were performed, the more acceptable would it be to the curious and learned readers. I have seen and read over Mr. Wotton's Conspectus of Dr. Hicks's Thesaurus; and I am glad that by his thus minding middle-age antiquity, there is some hope that he will in time come to have a better opinion of the ancient classical authors, than he has shewn in his Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning. In haste,

Sir,

Your most affectionate

Humble Servant,

Oxon, Feb. 15, 1708. THOMAS HEARNE.

Dr. Charlett, Dr. Hudson, Mr. Thwaites, &c. give their service.

LETTER

From Lord STRAFFORD *to* CHARLES I.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

IT hath been my greatest grief in all these troubles, to be taken as a person which I should endeavour

endeavour to represent, and set things amiss betwixt your Majesty and your people, and to give counsel tending to the disquiet of the three kingdoms.

Most true it is that this (my own private condition considered) had been a great madness, since through your gracious favours I was so provided, as not to expect in any kind to mend my fortunes, or please my mind more than by resting where your bounteous hands had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken; for, unto your Majesty it is well known, my poor and humble advices concluded still in this, that your Majesty and your people could never be happy till there were a right understanding procured betwixt you and them. No other means to effect and settle this happiness but the counsel and assent of your parliament, or to prevent the growing evils upon this estate, but by entirely putting yourself in the last resorts, upon the loyalty and good affections of your English subjects.

Yet, such is my misfortune, this truth finds little credit; the contrary (it seems) generally believed, and myself reputed, as something of separation betwixt you and the people, under a heavier sentence than which I am persuaded no gentleman can suffer.

Now I understand the minds of men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding your Majesty has declared, that, in your princely opinion, I am not guilty of treason, nor are you satisfied in your conscience to pass the bill. This brings me into a great strait; here is before me the ruin of my children and family, hitherto untouched in all the branches of it with any foul crimes.

Here is before me the many ills which may befall your sacred person, and the whole kingdom, should yourself and parliament part less satisfied one with the other, than is necessary for the preservation both of king and people.

Hence are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortal men—life or death.

To say, Sir, that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less man, than, God knows, my infirmities give me; and to call a destruction upon myself and young children, where the intentions of my heart, at least, have been innocent of this great offence, may be believed, would find no easy consent from flesh and blood. But out of much sadness, I am come to the resolution of doing that which I take to be the best becoming me—to look upon that which is most principal in itself, which, doubtless, is the prosperity of your sacred person, and the common-

commonwealth, infinitely before any private man's interests.

And therefore, in few words, as I put myself wholly upon the honour and justice of my peers, so clearly as to beseech your Majesty might be pleased to have spared that declaration of yours on Saturday last, and entirely to have left me to their Lordships; so, now, to set your Majesty's conscience at liberty, I do most humbly beseech your Majesty, in prevention of mischiefs, which may happen by your refusal to pass this bill, and by this means remove, praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess, this unfortunate thing, forth of the way towards that blessed agreement which God, I trust, shall ever establish betwixt you and your subjects.

Sir, my conscience shall acquit you, having more to God than all the world besides; to a willing man there is no injury done; and as by God's grace I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you can I give the life of this world with all the cheerfulness imaginable, as the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours; and only that in your goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor son, and his three sisters, less or more, and no otherwise, than as their present

unfortunate father may hereafter appear more or less guilty of this death.

God long preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most faithful,
And most humble subject and servant,

STRAFFORD.

Tower,
This 4th of May 1641.

PARODY

On the justly admired Soliloquy in Hamlet, "To be, or not to be."

By the Printer of an Irish Provincial Newspaper.

TO print, or not to print? that is the question.
Whether 't is nobler in the mind to suffer
The loss and disappointments of successful efforts
To gain an honest livelihood, or quit the business,
And end the contest. To stop—to add no more
To landlords', poets', and paper-makers' bills,
And every other expense incurr'd by printers,
Is really a consummation to be wish'd.
To die—to sleep—perchance, to dream:
Ay, there 's the rub; perhaps like Egypt's sons of old,
Who died insolvent, be denied a burial.
Mayhap, the corpse for debt may be detain'd,

For

For English laws permit; and closely held
In durance vile, till the last farthing 's paid.
There 's the respect that makes us bear the burden
Of weekly cares and toils without reward;
For who would else endure the loss of time,
Of labour, and of cash, the dums of creditors
The negligence of debtors, and the string
Of evils unsuccessful artizans suffer,
When he himself might quit them all for ever,
By a bare advertisement? Who would make
His press and pressmen groan beneath the weight
Of sheets on sheets of types, weekly compos'd
To gratify the gen'ral thirst for news;
Pore over books, and cull th' instructive page,
Or seek in ev'ry quarter of the earth,
Collect and publish every tale that goes,
"And paint the manners living as they rise;"
But that the dread of what may follow, as
The taunts of envious brethren of the type,
The scoffs of enemies, (for who 's without them?)
Silent suspicions of well-meaning friends,
Who think we should have struggled longer for success,
And utter ruin to our fondest hopes,
Puzzles the will, and makes us rather bear
The ills that now we have, than fly to others
We know not, and, perhaps, might have avoided.
Thus is the printer at a stand, and cannot
Between two sad alternatives determine.

Patrons! it rests with you to fix his lot,
To bid him prosper, or to bid him not:

If

If you (and who can honestly refuse?)
Are prompt in paying him your little dues,
He 'll still continue in his hard endeavour
To earn his living and the public favour.

LETTER

From Sir JEFFERY AMHERST *to the Right Hon. Lord* SACKVILLE.

Camp at Louisburg, July 29, 1758.

MY LORD,

I HAVE finished my accounts to Mr. Pitt, and given him all the intelligence I could of the surrender of Louisburg. Your Lordship will see the whole, and think there is a great deal more than is worth reading, for some of my letters have been sealed up long since, expecting an opportunity to send them. As my brother goes to England with the capitulation, your Lordship may likewise know of him whatever you may want to be informed of: he has kept a journal, and can be particular in any information you may like to have. I have to-day, for the first time, received some letters from England, and a very obliging one from your Lordship. Your kindness to Mrs. Amherst requires more thanks than

I can express. I saw in the newspapers Taylor was dead, and I at once imagined it would put her to great distress, though it ought not to do it; for a woman in her way of thinking, and I know none that thinks better, she has been as unlucky as ever woman was; and it is my misfortune, and not my fault, that she is so. I should be very glad to employ Mr. Ross as my agent, but it is not in my power: when I appointed Taylor, I was asked to employ Mr. Calcraft in case any thing happened to Taylor, which I promised, and which I must keep. My money matters will be in a heap of confusion; I cannot help it; if I am not poorer than the day I married, it is all I desire; but I do not mean by this to complain of want of money, for I think I have as much as I deserve; and if once in my life I should have six weeks at home without rubbing in brimstone, which has never, since I had a home, happened to me, I believe I should find myself very happy. I have been writing till I am almost blind, *et ça ne vaut rien pour un general.* I have learnt to live, if it is to be called living, with a very little sleep. This army has been made soldiers by the fire of the enemy. I am told, from the town, they have expended three thousand barrels of powder; have about six hundred left in the garrison. I have most punctually obeyed his Majesty's orders in keeping

ing

ing a good harmony with the fleet. I have never asked the admiral for any one thing that he has not granted, and, indeed, he has helped me greatly, and above every thing that I could wish. The army healthy, my regiment and Anstruther's the most sick. Mr Knight is an ensign. I send you a list of the killed and wounded enclosed; they are few for what they went through; and I likewise send your Lordship a copy of the capitulation. I am really almost blind, therefore must give over. I am, with the greatest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant, JEFF. AMHERST.

Right Hon. Lord George Sackville.

It is hard upon Murray, a good officer, and deserves all you can do for him; and he should be kept doing, which he would do more willingly if taken notice of.

EARL MARSHAL.

From a MS. in the British Museum.

The summary Points of all that I and others found concerning the Office of Earl Marshal, when we were commanded by the Earl of Essex to make Search in the Records for the same.

THE Marshalsey is a sergeantie, graunted to the Earle of Norff. in fee, who, when he cannot

personally execute the office, may appoynt a knight, but with the king's consent. If the knight marshalle so appoynted, do make ane default, the Earle Marshalle shall not be amerced as Earle, but only as servitor.

He hath a verge to be carried before the king; whereuppon the space about the king, whereso-ever he be in England, conteininge 12 miles (leucarum), is called the Verge.

In warre he is not bound to keep watch, but every night shall place the watch, and discharge them in the morning.

He shall go out with the foragers, with banner displaied for their protection.

He shall see execucion done, upon the judgment of the king's steward, within the verge.

He shall have charge of the prisoners; he shall have all spotted beasts, or of divers colours, and of every pound of that fee he shall pay 2 pence to the king.

There is assigned unto him one clerke and one sergeant, for keeping of them that are attached.

It is their charge to keep the verge from harlots.

The Marshalle shall have from every common harlott found within the lymitts of the house, 4 pence the first day.

If

If she be found agayne, she shalbe forbidden before the steward not to enter into the kyng's house, nor the queene's, nor their children.

If the thyrd tyme she be found, she shalbe imprysoned, or abjured the court; if she be found the 4 time, her hair shall be shaven; and the 5 time, her upper lyp shalbe cut off.

If the Marshalls under officers be found culpable of escapes, they shalbe disinherited and lose all their goodes.

By the statute of Westminster it was provided, that the Marshalle should have of every earle and baron, and him that doth holde a whole barony should have his paulfrey, or the auncient price thereof, when he doth his homage; and if he have it then, he shall exact nothing when he is knighted.

King Henry the Third admitted Roger Bigot to execute the office of Marshalle, at the request of his uncle.

Roger Bigot, Earle of Norff. and Marshalle of England, after he had surrendered all his right to the earldom of Norff. and Marshalsey, into the hands of King Edward the First, the king regranted them againe unto him, and to the heires of his body; but if he died without heires of his body, to remaine to the crowne. Char. 31 E. I. m. 24.

Nicholas Segrave was made Marshalle of England during pleasure, and deputed a marshale of the exchequer. Pat. primo Edw. II. m. 23.

King Richard the Second made Tho. Hollande Marshalle of England, with all that apperteined thereunto, in generall wordes. Pat. 3 R. 2.

The said kinge, in the 9th of his raigne, graunted the office of Marshalle of England with the name and style of Earle Marshalle, to Thomas Mowbray, Earle of Nottinghame, to him and to the heires masles of his body.

The same king, after Thomas Mowbray was banished, granted to Thomas Hollande, Duke of Surrey, the sayd honor, and that he should carry a rod of gold, enamelled black at both endes with the kynge's armes, and his owne at the two endes, and to carrie the same aswel in the kinge's presence as absence. And in the same patent was graunted to him the donation and appoynting of the marshall of the exchequer, of the marshall of the king's bench, of the cryer before the steward, and marshal.

John Lo. Howard was made Earle Marshall the first of Richard the Third with all those specialities before mentioned, in the patent of Thomas Holland, Duke of Surry; and moreover, for the mainteynance of the state of Earle Marshall, a fee of

20 pounds by the year, out of the ferme of the towne of Ipswich.

William Lo. Barkeley and Earle of Nottinghame was made Earle Marshall, with all the former specialitie during the king's pleasure. Pat. 5 H. 7.

Thomas Howard, Earle of Surry, and Threasurer of England, had it in like manner. 2 Hen. 8.

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke, had the offioe of Earl Marshall of England graunted by K. H. VIII. and surrendered the patent thereof to him, whereuppon the king graunted the same to the Duke of Norfolk, and to the heires masles of his body, to execute the same by their deputies, *absq. computo*, with a proviso, that the king should distribute and give the office, if the heires males of the said duke should happe to be under age, or impotent to execute the same. Pat. 25 H. 8.

Edward Seimor, Duke of Somersett, had the like patent during lyfe. 1 Ed. 6.

George Earle of Shrewsbury had the like patent in generall wordes, and power to make his deputy. John Dudley E. of Warwick had the like patent for terme of lyfe, with a clause to conferre the office of marshall of the household. 5 E. 6.

King H. 7, albeit there weare Earle Marshall of England in being, appoynted Sir Robert Welloughbey la Brooke to be Marshall of his armie, or host, in the 8 year of his raigne, gave authority to Sir John Digby, Knighte Marshall, and Sir Robert Clifford, to use marshall law against rebells, in the 12 yeare of his reigne.

The office of Marshall was ceased into the king's hand for want of attendance, and restored the 17 of Ed. 2.

The office of constable being voyd, the king deputed certain persons to hear, and proceede judicially, according to the lawe and custom of armes, as concerning an exaction made uppon a prisoner.

When the Earle Marshall exacted his fee of the king of Scots, at such tyme as he was made knight, it was answered, that the king of Scotland was not to pay his fees, for, because if it pleased him, he might have been knighted by any Catholique prince, or any noble knight of his owne nation; but he chose to receave it of the king, as being an honour to the king, being his father-in-law and neighbor.

Justice Pigot, 37 Hen. Sexti, sayd, for evill wordes spoken, as traitor, and such like, and chalenge thereuppon to fight, the triall must not be by the common law, but apperteyneth to the Constable

ble and Marshal, and they are to determine it by the civil law. Vide Termin. Pasch. 37 H. 6.

The Constable and Marshall, as some lawyers held, had only power to try matters done out of the realm.

Great debates weare about these matters in the tyme of Richard the Second, and it was shewed in parliament that it was a great mischeefe in the common wealth, that the law of the land and the law of arms did not concurre; and the commons desired that the Constable and Marshall should surcease to hold pleas of treason and felony, but that the same might be determined according to Charta Magna.

Matters of arms were aunciently held before the Constable and Marshall, in the court of chivalrye.

This I delivered to the Earl of Arundel, 1617.

LETTER

From Mr. GEORGE HART *to Sir* W. HAMILTON.

DEAR SIR,

UPON the uncertainty, at present, of meeting you in town, I have taken the liberty of sending you a small sample of my trivial amusements: the printed copies contain many errors of the press, but the bound one, which you will please to

to keep for your own diversion, I have corrected, the other in sheets, not; though any English reader may very easily reconcile the mistakes. However, I am sorry now to have had them printed, having completed, in manuscript, the whole set of the Dialogues of the Courtezans, fifteen in number, besides eight or ten other select pieces. I have had them revised by native Greeks; that is, by the construction of my English from the original into Italian, verbally. By my little practice I must venture to pronounce, that Lucian is as much above Voltaire in his style, as Voltaire is above all the moderns to this time. It may be proper to mention in your perusal of the famous Philopatris, that the poets were also the priests of those times, though I hope the translator has saved himself from the calumny of the modern cynics by some of his notes.

Your observation of the dashes in the Cursory Thoughts is very true; but the apology at the close I thought a sufficient salvo; at the same time I agree with you entirely, that no good at all will come of it, and that probably they think of nothing but of giving people unnecessary trouble.

Compliments to Lady Hamilton; and am most sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

30th Sept. 1778. GEORGE HART.

SAMUEL

SAMUEL BERNARD.

THE famous Samuel Bernard, one of the richest and the greatest financiers of Europe, died in Paris, the 18th of January 1739, at the age of eighty-eight. He was born in the Protestant religion, and was an elder of the church of Charenton. He was created Count of Coubert, and a Knight of St. Michel. By rendering great services to the court in matters of finance, he gained immense sums in speculations and enterprises. It is confidently said, that he left upwards of forty millions of livres to his two sons, and his daughter. He had a small chapel in the church of the *Petits-peres, Place des Victoires.* His funeral procession equalled that of a prince in point of magnificence, and the numerous and distinguished personages that attended it. The Marquis de Mirepoix, ambassador at Vienna, who espoused to his first wife the grand-daughter of M. Bernard, wore a large mourning cloak. Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister, wrote the following letter to the two sons on his death.

" Notwithstanding, gentlemen, we ought to have expected for some time the loss that you have just experienced, yet I feel myself sensibly affected with it, and sincerely partake of your grief. You are sensible of the particular esteem

that

that I entertained for M. Bernard your father, and the justice that I rendered to him in representing to the king the attachment that he always evinced for the state. I can only exhort you to honour his memory by the same sentiments: you are not able to give a better proof of it than in following his example, and in maintaining betwixt you the most perfect union. It will give me the greatest pleasure to have frequent opportunities of witnessing the lively interest that I feel in all that concerns his family, and to give you proofs, gentlemen, of the particular consideration that I entertain for all those that compose it."

Such is the consideration that arises from gold, when a prime minister could write such a letter.

Samuel Bernard was a man of pleasantry, and indulged it even in his last moments. As he was expiring, Languet, the rector of St. Sulpice, came to exhort him. As he never lost sight of the structure of his temple, he solicited the dying man to contribute to the labours of his church; "For," said he, "what do they not merit who are able to participate in the edification of the temple of the Lord?"

Samuel Bernard endeavoured to turn his head to the Rector, and said to him, "Hold up your hand, Sir, or I 'll see your cards."

The same Rector evinced an incredible constancy in the erection of that church: he followed

lowed up the execution of it without intermission; he turned every thing into money, and took from all hands for that purpose. When he went to pay his duty to the Archbishop of Paris, when he took possession of the archbishopric, he was very much surprised to find that he was accused of having carried on trade, for which the prelate reproached him in very severe terms. The Rector denied the charge. "Do not you sell ice?" said the Bishop. "Why, my Lord, when the workmen that I employ in building my church cannot work in frosty weather, in order that they may get a livelihood, I make them break and pile up the ice, which, in truth, I sell to furnish them with subsistence in these hard times"—"Oh, said the prelate, "I don't understand it in that manner. And you sell a great deal, I find." "Not so much as I should if the Jansenists had not spread a report that my ice was warm."

DUKE OF ORMOND.

By J. MACKAY, *Esq.**

JAMES Duke of Ormond, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, is grandson of that duke who was lord-lieutenant most of King Charles II.'s

* This character is copied from Mr. Mackay's printed works in the British Museum. The following note is annexed to it in the hand-writing of Dean Swift: "Fairly enough writ. "J. S."

reign,

reign, and son to the Earl of Ossory, who was general in Holland.

He was, when very young, chosen by the university of Oxford to be their chancellor, and, to his power, opposed the growth of popery, and the despotic measures of King James's court, which he left along with Prince George at the revolution, and declared for the laws and liberties of his country.

All King William's reign he was a faithful follower of his person, and for him; attended him in all his campaigns; was captain of his horse-guards, gentleman of his bed-chamber, and lieutenant-general of his army. His expenses were so great abroad, that it may be said, he gained more reputation by his generosity than many generals have by their armies, and did a great deal of honour to his country, to the lessening his own estate.

On the Queen's accession to the throne, he had the command given him of the expedition to Cadiz, which miscarried not by his fault, as appeared plainly by the examination of that affair in the House of Peers; and he had the good luck in his return to burn the French fleet at Vigo, and to assist at the solemn Te Deum sung by the Queen at St. Paul's for that expedition, when it appeared how much he was the darling of the people, who neglected their sovereign, and ap-

plauded him more, perhaps, than any subject was on any occasion. He was sent soon after lord-lieutenant of Ireland, where he governs with more affection from the people, and his court is in greater splendour than ever was known in that kingdom.

He certainly is one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault, loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers; knew not how to refuse any body, which was the reason why he obtained so little from King William, asking for every body. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business; loves, and is beloved by the ladies; of a low stature, but well shaped; a good mien and address; a fair complexion, and very beautiful face: he is about forty years old.

SONG

Written by a young Russian Officer, on leaving England in May 1800.

A free Translation.

WHEN Russia sent her warlike sons
Far from her native borders,
We pois'd our spears, flew to our guns,
Impatient for the orders.

In

In Italy we won the day,
(That scene of Gallic plunder;)
When brave Suwarrow led the way,
We smil'd at Gallic thunder.

And when the sun sunk into night,
How this will shine in story!
We fought by the immortal light
Of never-fading glory.

Russians should never think of toils:
When the campaign is ended,
Our laurels are our only spoils,
And all that we intended.

Our patron Saint *, that never fails
To pray for us in danger,
Conducted us to Britain's vales,
The home of every stranger.

Rewarded there by beauty's smiles,
By heart-felt acclamations,
(For Britain is the queen of isles,
The arbitress of nations;)

Our foes may call us Russian bears,
That we 're scarce human brothers;
But we have sighs, and we have tears,
You 'll find, as well as others.

'T is education marks the line
That mints and stamps the senses;
The polish makes the di'mond shine,
In coronets of princes.

* St. Nicholas.

But

But Paul has issu'd his decree,
The fates cannot repeal it,
And all around rejoice, but me:
I mourn—but must conceal it.

And as the song was rais'd last night,
How I affected such delight!
You 'd think my soul on rapture flew,
But, dearest Anne, it was to you.
And under Russia's darling name,
I painted my impassion'd flame;
With thee I 'd wing the light *traineau* *,
With thee I 'd traverse hills of snow;
With thee on Neva's ice I 'd glide,
With thee, an angel by my side.
On cold Siberia's desert plains,
With thee I 'd even smile in chains;
Oh! how I tremble at each gale,
Lest it should swell the Russian sail;
One minute 's worth a thousand years;
But see, the swelling sail appears!
I must obey—once more, adieu!
I only live for love and you.

A RECEIPT TO MAKE A KISS.

By T. SWIFT, *Esq.*

FROM rosebuds yet unblown, whose vernal morn
Perfumes the gale, unconscious of a thorn,

* A French word for a sled.

The purest purple take; and steal from May
The pearl that gems the lawn, when springs the day.
Crop the young violet from her scented bed,
And spoil the primrose of his velvet head.
With love's own odours charg'd, and steep'd in joy,
The honied labours of the hive employ:
But search with care the aromatic work,
Lest danger in the sweet temptation lurk,
And mar the luscious toil; for, shouldst thou leave
One sting behind, 't would all thy hope deceive.
Into the fragrant mass let zephyr fling
The newest, earliest whisper of the spring:
The chirp of Beauty's darling bird prepare,
And mix the murmur of the turtle there.
Her smiles and graces Venus must infuse,
And thrice embalm the whole with Cyprian dews.
Now, tell me, shepherds, in what happy grove
Dwells this fair bud of hope, this plant of love?
On Laura's lips resides the nectar'd bliss,
And lovers mould the rapture to a kiss.

FATHER PAUL.

PAOLO Sarpi, better known by the name Fra Paolo, the most exalted character that ever illumined the cell of a monk, was born in Venice in 1552. An innate love of solitude, in which he hoped to find leisure to cultivate his favourite studies,

studies, induced him to enter into the order of Servi in 1565, on which occasion he exchanged his baptismal name Petro for that of Paolo. He now applied himself, with indefatigable zeal and industry, to philosophy, mathematics, and the dead languages, in so successful a manner, that in the course of two years he was deservedly ranked as the most learned of his fellow-students. At a public disputation which took place in Mantua in 1570, he evinced such a display of talents, accompanied by so much modesty, that the Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga appointed this youth (then only eighteen years of age) his chaplain, and professor of divinity and the canon law at Mantua. These appointments, as unexpected as they were justly merited, led him to direct his literary pursuits to a new channel, ecclesiastical history. As he had a genius adapted to all studies, his progress in this new line was rapid beyond all comparison. Soon after his appointment, he formed a resolution of writing a history of the council of Trent. Camillo Oliva, secretary to the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, soon saw that he was well qualified for the execution of such a task, and encouraged him to follow up the plan which he had submitted to him. Camillo furnished our young writer with many valuable documents for that purpose. In the course of four years, his love of retirement re-

turned with additional charms; in consequence of which he threw himself once more into the bosom of his cell in Venice, where he delivered lectures for three years successively, on the most useful branches of philosophy. The interest of the subject, the manner in which he treated it, added to his mode of delivery, attracted an immense number of auditors of the first rank and acquirements. His great object was to found his tenets upon experiments and rational principles. His attention was particularly directed to natural knowledge, in which he attempted to exhibit the economy of nature in the structure of the animal frame. According to Foscarini (*Della Litteratura Veneziana*, vol. i. p. 308), and Griseline (in *Gassendi's Vita Parescii)*, he discovered, before he had accomplished the twenty-sixth year of his age, certain little covers or valvulæ in the arteries, through the medium of which the blood passes from the arteries into the veins; a circumstance which, till then, had been only supposed by anatomists, the mechanism of which has been since clearly demonstrated by our countryman, the celebrated Doctor Harvey. In a treatise, however, which appeared at Padua in 1603, under the title of Venarum Astiolis, by Aquapendente, that writer claims this important discovery, without so much as once naming his friend Sarpi; which led Morgagni (Ep. Anat. t. xi. Ep. xiv.), as well

as Tiraboschi, to doubt if the merit of that discovery should be ascribed to Sarpi. We are more certain of the discovery of our enlightened monk, on the dilatation and contraction of the pupil of the eye, which he made anterior to the year 1577; to the truth of which, Aquapendente bears ample testimony in his learned tract De Oculo et Visus Organo. In the year 1578, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him, and in 1579 he was chosen provincial inspector of his order. From this time he could only devote his leisure moments to the study of natural philosophy, and lectures on divinity, which he read to his colleagues to the year 1585, when he was appointed procurator general at Rome. In that city he cultivated the study of the Roman polity, and also added many valuable papers to the mass which he had collected for the History of the Council of Trent. From Rome he travelled to Naples, for the express purpose of paying a visit to Giovambatista Della, one of the most celebrated natural philosophers of his day, with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy at Venice *. Magnetism was the principal object

* Porta thus speaks of his friend in one of his letters : " *Eo doctiorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit neminem cognominus, natum ad encyclopædiam,* &c." And this is not mere flattery, for Sarpi was not a stranger to any science. His discoveries in optics and anatomy alone would have transmitted his name to

of their research and discourse; and the rational and profound ideas Sarpi formed on the theory of magnetism, at that time a mystery to philosophers, may be seen in a manuscript, which was found in the library of his convent at Venice, after his death. At the end of three years he returned once more to Venice, in order to give himself up entirely to the study of history, mathematics, and philosophy, his darling pursuits. In 1591 he happened to alight on a treatise entitled Vieta Algebra Speciosa. The novelty of conveying arithmetical knowledge by means of letters, arrested his attention and excited his curiosity. In a short time he succeeded so far in this study, that he was able to establish the principles of algebra on determinate and systematical grounds, as may be seen in the manuscript above mentioned, at present preserved in the library of his convent at Venice. In a slender treatise which he appears to have written much about this time, entitled, *Circa il Nascere della Opinioni et del Cessare che sanno invisi*, he has given many specimens of the profundity of his conceptions. An extract of this work will be found in the third volume of Firascini's Litteratura Veniciana. Omitting a few circumstances

the latest posterity, if he had not rendered his memory immortal by a more noble effort of his talents in the defence of his country against the tyranny of the Roman see.

of

of minor consideration, we now approach to the most remarkable period of his life.

Various disputes on the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had already arisen under Clement VIII. between the cabinets of Rome and Venice. In general, however, they were amicably adjusted; but when Paul V. ascended the Papal chair in 1605, the sparks were kindled into a flame. This pontiff endeavoured to extend the jurisdiction of the church; hence his quarrel with the Order of Malta, the dukes of Savoy and Parma, the republics of Lucca and Venice: the latter may be said to have been the only power that evinced a determination to oppose a barrier to the encroachments of the holy see. The council of Venice revived two decrees, which had been promulged some time before, in direct opposition to the dearest interests of the Roman see. By the first it was forbidden to bequeath landed property to the church, and by the second the number of religious houses was ascertained, and the erection of additional ones prohibited. These two acts called forth the collected vengeance of his Holiness; he insisted on the immediate repeal of both in the most unqualified terms, under the threat of excommunication. He also insisted that two priests, accused of the crimes of murder and robbery, should be delivered up to the holy inquisition. The Venetian senators, however, remained firm at their post.

Resolved to maintain those rights inviolable, which their ancestors had committed to their trust, they consulted Sarpi, and commissioned him to draw out an answer to the Papal brief. This was, undoubtedly, a bold and dangerous resolution; Sarpi, however, did not hesitate to obey the injunction. The Senate solemnly resolved to protect him, and at the same, time as a mark of the estimation in which they held him, appointed him Consultor Theologus, with a salary of two hundred ducats a year. Sarpi, in his answer, laid down the limits of the Papal jurisdiction without any reserve, in order to shew that the threat of excommunication was as ill-founded as it would be found ineffectual. The Pope repeated his former demands with additional threats; and when he found that they were not complied with, he issued an excommunication in 1606. It was expected that the whole body of the clergy would unite in the co-operation of that solemn act, and that the people would simultaneously rise against the government, in consequence of the interruption of divine service: but the Senate lost no time in the adoption of every measure that might tend to counteract the effects of this interdiction. They disseminated Sarpi's answer, in which he not only pointed out the invalidity of the ban, but even the absurdity of it. The Senate felt themselves warranted in the publication

lication of an edict, in which they justified the measures they had pursued, and threatened such as would obey the Pope's brief with transportation. The regular body of the clergy themselves evinced a firmness and patriotism on this trying occasion, that redounded very much to their honour. They ranged themselves under the banners of the republic. The Capuchins, Theatins, and Jesuits, left the country, loaded with the execrations of the public. In Italy, and elsewhere, the press teemed with publications on this dispute. Sarpi confined himself to the defence of his own country; except a small pamphlet which was ascribed to him (*Sopra l'Interdotto della Santita di Paolo V.* Venice 1606). Cardinal Bellarmin, the champion of the triple crown, wrote an answer to this anonymous publication. This induced Sarpi, in the same year (1606), to publish two tracts, namely, *Apologia per le Opposizioni fatte dall' illustrissimo e reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Bellarmino, Considerazioni sopra le Censure di Paolo V.* both printed at Venice. All Europe resounded with the praise of the author. The Pope was so irritated, that he did not hesitate to resort to the meanest arts. His Holiness prohibited the circulation of Sarpi's writings under severe penalties, and caused every copy that could be procured to be committed to the flames. The writer himself was cited to appear

pear before the holy inquisition at Rome, and in consequence of his non-appearance he was excommunicated. The Senate returned him public thanks, and doubled his pension. The Roman and Venetian cabinets were so incensed with each other, that it was the general opinion that it would end in war. James I. of England offered his assistance to the republic, and Henry IV. of France proposed himself as a mediator, which being accepted, the business was brought to an amicable conclusion in 1607. The Senate having thus established their rights, delivered the two priests that were confined into the hands of the King of France. Those who were constrained toabandon the country, were permitted to return, except the Jesuits, who were for ever proscribed the territories of Venice. The Pope, on his part, repealed the ban he had wantonly issued, with a request that all the writings which had been published in Venice on the subject of the dispute should be consigned to oblivion; which was acceded to at the pressing solicitation of Sarpi himself. Thus terminated a contest which gave a mortal wound to the unwieldy power of spiritual Rome. To question the authority of the Pope at that time was looked upon as a branch of heresy. It should not be matter of surprise, then, to find Sarpi ranked by his antagonist in the list of Protestants, and even looked upon as such

by many of the Protestants themselves. Doctor Burnet, who was chaplain at the time to the British factory at Venice, in his Life of Bishop Bedel, says, that, in conversations with Sarpi, he found him attached to many of the tenets of the reformed church, and that Sarpi consulted him more than once on the best means of establishing the liturgy of the church of England in Venice.

Courayer thus expresses himself on this point in his Life of Sarpi, and he is probably right:

" Il étoit Protestant, ci c'est l'être que de ne pas donner aveuglément dans toutes les opinions régnantes, et de condamner librement les abus inventés et soutenus par intérêt. Mais il étoit Catholique, si c'est l'être que d'aimer sincèrement la pureté de l'eglise, que de haïr les divisions, que de maintenir l'ordre et la subordination, et que d'être animé de zèle pour reformer la religion et non pour la déchirer. C'étoit dans cette vue qu'il souhaitoit l'avantage des Protestans, parcequ'il croyoit que c'étoit le seul moyen de parvenir à une reformation, qui en détruisant la superstition et cette domination abusive sur la foi des autres, pourroit rétablir la simplicité et la paix dans l'eglise Chrétienne, et ramener la concorde que la multiplication des nouvelles décisions n'avoit fait qu'altérer de plus en plus. En un mot à l'imitation d'Erasme, de Mr. Thou, et de plusieurs autres grand hommes, il étoit

étoit Catholique en gros, et quelquefois Protestant en détail. Il observoit de la religion Romaine tout ce qu'il en pouvoit pratiquer sans superstition; et dans les choses dont il croyoit devoir s'abstenir par scrupule, il avoit un grand soin de ne pas scandaliser les foibles. Enfin également éloigné de tout extrême, s'il désapprouvoit les abus des Catholiques, il condamnoit aussi la trop grande chaleur des Réformés, et disoit naturellement à ceux qui le pressoient de se déclarer pour les derniers, que Dieu ne lui avoit pas donné l'esprit de Luther."

The court of Rome was outwardly reconciled with Venice, but had resolved on the life of the champion of her rights. On the evening of the 5th of October 1607, Sarpi was waylaid and attacked in the vicinity of his cloister, by five hired assassins, and severely wounded. He received several stabs of a dagger in both cheeks, just as if they had aimed at the destruction of that organ with which he had so successfully combated the enemies of truth and justice. He sunk with the loss of blood into a state almost of insensibility. The murderers, who thought they had left him for dead, made their escape, and left a dagger sticking in his face. This atrocious act filled all Venice with mourning: all possible assistance at the expense of the public was instantly administered, and in a short time

Aqua-

Aquapendente, who attended him, had the satisfaction to pronounce him out of danger, to the inexpressible joy of all ranks. It ought to be remarked, that, on this occasion, not a single complaint escaped his lips, except at one time, when that eminent surgeon probed one of the deepest of his wounds, he said, *Il mondo occole che sia fatto stilo Romanæ curiæ.* The government held out a considerable reward, as well for the discovery of the ruffians concerned in the bloody deed, as those who might in future attempt his life, and offered him an asylum under the wing of its own authority; he preferred, however, to remain under the protection of Heaven in his solitary cell. He was not to be dismayed by what happened; for, in 1609, he wrote, by the command of the Senate, the *Istoria particolare delle Cose passate fra il Sommo Pontifice Paolo V. e la Serenissima Republica di Venezia gli Anni* 1605, 1606, *e* 1607; which, though it was first printed in 1624, yet it was widely circulated in manuscript. In this publication he attacked the court of Rome with additional vigour, and new plans were laid against his life. It was fixed at one time to dispatch him in his cell; but the plot was discovered, and Sarpi was entreated by the Senate to open his door to none but tried friends. Strangers were permitted to speak to him only in the senate-house; and when business called him

any

any where, he was conveyed in a covered gondola. Under all these circumstances he continued, with unshaken nerve, to resist the inroads of the Papal see, as may be seen in a tract written by him in the midst of all these dangers, entitled *Della Materie beneficiarie* (Mirandolo, 1676), and *De Jure Asylorum* (Leyden, 1622). In the first he shews that church benefices are in the gift of the secular power; and in the second that asylums were destined for persecuted innocence, instead of being converted to such for persons covered with crimes. He also wrote another pamphlet, *Discorso dell' Origine, Forma, Leggi, ed Uso dell' Uffizio dell' Inquisizione nella Città e nel Dominio di Venezia* (Venice, 1639); in which he demonstrates, that this court at Venice was totally independent of that at Rome, and subject only to the jurisdiction of the temporal magistrate. Whilst he was thus laudably engaged in defending the rights of his country, he did not lose sight of the studies of nature. He was one of the first who did justice to the discoveries of the illustrious Gallileo, who had suffered so much in the beginning from the united attacks of blind zeal and religious superstition. He exhibited the merits of this great man in their proper colours, through the medium of his correspondence in foreign countries. Gallileo was so sensible of the obligations that he owed him, that he communicated his

his discoveries to him without the least reserve, and called him *Commun Padre e Maestro*, and added, that he might, without exaggeration, be called the greatest mathematician in Europe. In a letter to Lescasser, which Grischini has published, Sarpi has rightly judged of the nature of the spots in the moon. In another he also gives his opinion of the variation of the needle. Several of his tracts remain at this day unedited, which are carefully deposited in the archives of the Venetian states, particularly one, a refutation of a pamphlet written by the Marquis of Bedmar, a Spaniard, directed against the liberties of the republic of Venice, as well as the history of the famous conspiracy against the republic, in which Bedmar was found to be involved: but the work which of all others has immortalized his name, is the History of the Council of Trent, which he had begun, as already observed, in his youth. As he would not risk the printing of it in a Catholic country, he sent the copy to the Bishop of Spalatro, Marcantonio de Dominis, who then resided in London, that it might appear in print. The Bishop dedicated it to James I. one of Sarpi's warmest admirers. This invaluable work passed through many editions in a short time, and has been translated into different languages. Sarpi paid the debt of nature on the 24th of January 1623, in the stedfast assurance of immortal

tal life, and the divine truths of Christianity. Some idea may be formed of the vigour and activity of his mind, notwithstanding the natural debility of his frame, from the voluminous effusions of his pen. He left a great number of manuscripts behind him in his own hand-writing. These intellectual treasures are carefully deposited in the secret archives of Venice, and in the library of his own cloister: the former contains upwards of seven hundred tracts, and the latter, five large volumes in folio. The principal topics are, history, politics, astronomy, anatomy, mathematics, and natural philosophy. Griselini and Foscarini, who had many opportunities of consulting them, do not hesitate to say, that they are equal to almost any thing that has yet appeared on these subjects, and it will be allowed that they are excellent judges. There are three different collections of his printed works; the first was published in 1687, in six volumes duodecimo; the second in 1718, in two volumes quarto; and the third in 1750, in two volumes in folio. The two last were printed in Venice. The History of the Council of Trent is not to be found in any one of them, nor any mention made of it.

Sarpi was a man of consummate modesty and gentleness of disposition. Though he passed his days in the midst of contests, and in constant hostility with the ingratitude and depravity of man,

man, his writings do not evince the slightest tincture of spleen or party spirit. In his exertions to call forth all his energies in defence of the cause of his country, the cause of justice and humanity, he forgot those shafts that malevolence had levelled at his own character, and even the wounds that his person had received. He was temperate in his diet, lived chiefly on bread and fruit, and his only beverage was water. As his wants were few, and gratified at a small expense, he distributed the bulk of his pension amongst the most necessitous of his order, so that after his death his books were the only riches found in his cell. He communicated his scientific discoveries to his friends with the same degree of liberality; nor did he even wish to claim the least property in them. Were it not for the papers which he left behind him, and the testimony of cotemporary friends, it would not, perhaps, have been known, that he was one of the greatest natural philosophers and mathematicians of his day. To what heights might he not have soared if he had pursued that line alone which nature seemed to have pointed out to him! His life is written by several learned men. Amongst the many effusions of public gratitude which have been offered up to his memory, the following lines by Mr. Hayley are at once worthy of the subject and the poet *:

* Essay on History, Epis. ii. p. 276, &c.

Oh, Italy! though drench'd with civil blood,
Though drown'd in bigotry's soul-quenching flood,
Historic Genius, in thy troubles nurst,
Ev'n from the darkness of the convent burst.
Venice may boast eternal honour, won
By the bright labours of her dauntless son,
Whose hand the curtains of the conclave drew,
And gave each priestly art to public view.
Sarpi, blest name! from every foible clear,
Not more to science than to virtue dear!
Thy pen, thy life, of equal praise secure;
Both wisely bold, and both sublimely pure;
That Freedom bids me on thy merits dwell,
Whose radiant form illum'd thy letter'd cell;
Who to thy hand the noblest task assign'd,
That earth can offer to a heavenly mind:
With Reason's arms to guard invaded laws,
And guide the pen of Truth in Freedom's cause.
Too firm of heart at Danger's cry to stoop,
Nor Lucre's slave, nor vain Ambition's dupe,
Through length of days invariably the same,
Thy country's liberty thy constant aim!
For this thy spirit dar'd th' assassin's knife,
That, with repeated guilt, pursu'd thy life;
For this thy fervent and unwearied care
Form'd, ev'n in death, thy patriotic prayer,
And, while his shadows on thine eyelids hung,
"Be it immortal!" trembled on thy tongue.

DOCTOR WARD.

Doctors' Commons, Monday Noon.

DR. Ducarel, with his compliments to Dr. Birch, leaves this note to acquaint him with the following anecdote of Dr. Ward, which he had yesterday of Mr. Gawler, schoolmaster, at Lambeth, late one of Professor Ward's pupils, viz. that the said Dr. Ward was the author of the dedication, preface, notes at the end, punctuation, &c. &c. in Pine's Horace; and that Pine, though he had a large subscription to that work, gave Dr. Ward for all his pains, only the mean present of two copies thereof. Mr. Gawler had this information from Dr. Ward's own mouth.

MILTON'S GRAND-DAUGHTER.

1754, MAY 14, Tuesday, I attended the funeral, and performed the office of interring of Mrs. Elizabeth Forster, grand-daughter of John Milton, and the last of his descendants. She died at her house, the sign of the Sugar-loaf, opposite to the Thatched House in Islington, of an asthma and dropsy, on Thursday afternoon, May 9th. She

was born in Ireland, in November 1688, and was about fifteen years of age when she came to England, and married to Mr. Forster in 1719. She was buried in a vault in Tindal's ground in Bunhill Fields.

Dr. Birch's Memorand. Bibl. Birch. No. 4472.

THE END.

S. Gosnell, Printer, Little Queen Street, Holborn.

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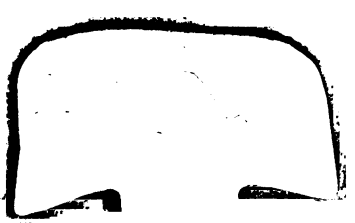
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